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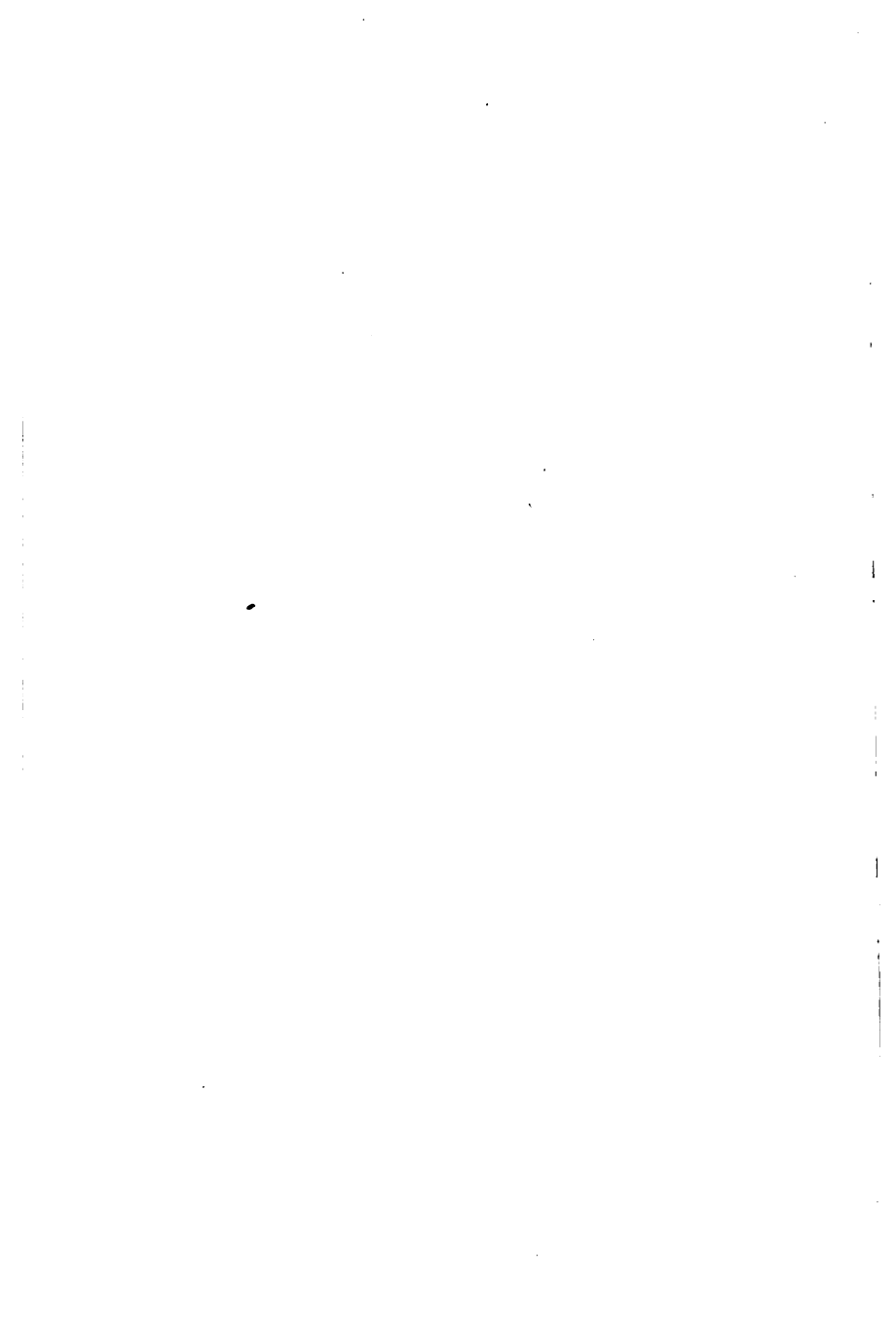
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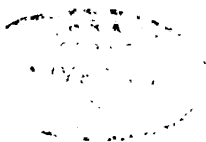
INSTITUTIONAL LIFE

ITS RELATIONS TO THE STATE AND TO THE WARDS OF THE STATE

BY

ARTHUR J. PILLSBURY

Secretary of the State Board of Examiners of California.



**Sacramento, California,
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INTRODUCTION.

Inasmuch as the accounts of the State Orphan Fund of California are audited in the office of the State Board of Examiners, it becomes the duty of the secretary of that board to acquaint himself with the work of the orphanages drawing aid from the state fund, as well as with the work of the several county Boards of Supervisors in the distribution of state relief granted to dependent children. Also, it is convenient for the secretary, whose work takes him over much of the state, to visit other state institutions and report thereon to the Governor in order that the executive office may be fully advised as to the conduct of such state institutions.

That the present secretary of the State Board of Examiners might be the better qualified to perform the services above indicated, he was directed by Governor George C. Pardee to visit certain eastern states, examine such state and other public institutions as enjoy honorable reputation in their respective lines of work and make such inquiries touching their administration as he should be able to and make report thereon to the Governor of California.

This the writer proceeded to do, without expense to the fund provided by law for the support of the State Board of Examiners. He left Sacramento for

the East September 7, 1905, and returned to his office in Sacramento December 4, of the same year.

During his absence the writer visited more than eighty public institutions, and other original sources of information, reporting from time to time to the executive office in California. These reports, so far as they were adapted to the purpose, were sent out from the executive office to the press of the state, in the hope that they might excite a wholesome public interest in public institutions, and the press of California quite generally published or commented upon them. These reports were all written en route, and were intended to be little more than impressions received along the way and were not intended to be received as final conclusions in regard to the subjects treated.

Since their publication there has been a demand for the subject-matter in a more enduring form, and more fully digested, and it is the purpose of the following pages to supply this demand. If the text abounds more abundantly in the personal opinions and conclusions of the writer than in descriptions of institutions visited it is because the limits of space required as much condensation as possible, and because the writer is prone to ventilate his own opinions if convenient occasion offers.

What has been written was written with the whole field of observation in view rather than with such glimpses of the field as he was able to obtain while hurrying over some thousands of miles of American railroads and of streets in American cities.

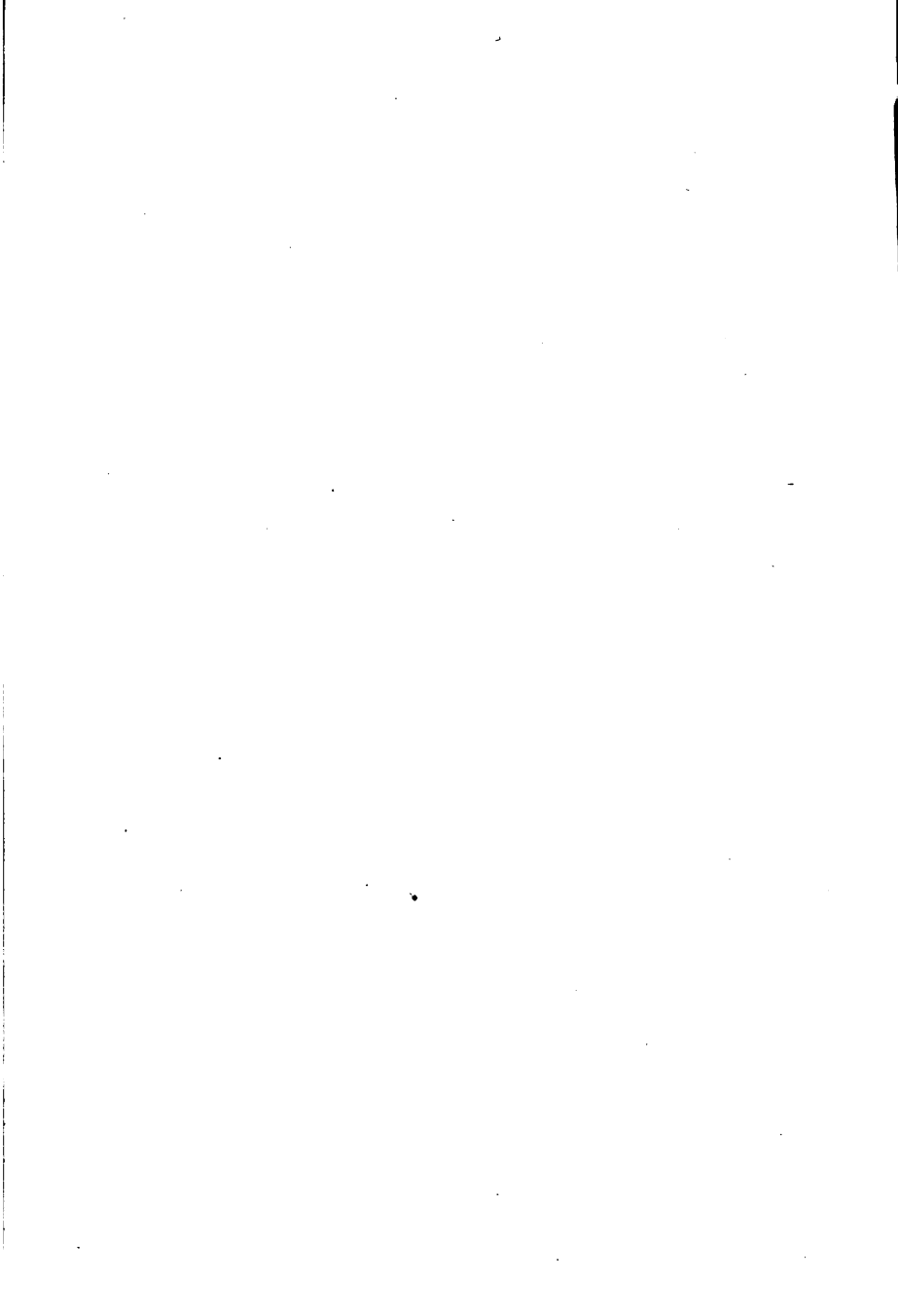
The writer begs to acknowledge the most open-handed and open-hearted courtesy on the part of the

managers of institutions wherever he went. If he was disappointed in any one particular more than another it was in the discovery that there is not any science of society worked out with enough of exactness to warrant its being called a science, or any "only way" of conducting an institution devoted to public service.

The elemental factor in institutional life is the personality in the executive head of each institution, and the way in which each such personality can best express himself is the best way for that personality to perform his service. His subordinates will lend the executive their invaluable aid more through promptings of personal fealty than because of a conscious intellectual conformity with his policy.

The author is solely responsible for conclusions reached and recommendations offered in this volume, and its publication does not imply executive or other official indorsement of anything herein contained.

A. J. PILLSBURY.



INSTITUTIONAL LIFE.

Its Relations to the State and to the Wards of the State.

CHAPTER I.

THE PROBLEM.

There are in the United States, without pretense of being able to give exact figures in all instances, one blind person to each 1800 of the general population, one deaf person to each 1500, one epileptic to each 500, one person so feeble-minded as to be incapable of intelligent self-direction to each 300, one insane person to each 300, one delinquent or criminal to each 300 and one dependent child to each 100 of children who have parents or guardians who can and do support them. This is a part of the social load which our burden-bearing general public has to carry.

The Cost—It costs somewhere in the vicinity of \$300 to maintain each blind person at the public charge for one year, something less for each deaf person, not far from \$200 for each epileptic, and from \$150 to \$200 per year for each feeble-minded person maintained in an institution. It will be understood that this cost of maintenance, in these instances, includes the cost of educating as well as of feeding, clothing and housing.

The cost of maintaining insane persons in institutions for their care and treatment is about \$175 per capita per year. Dependent childhood costs, in one way or another, at least \$120 per capita per year. The cost of delinquency and criminality for the United

States as a whole has been lumped off by good authority at a sum greater by many millions of dollars than is expended for all forms of education, public and private.

Preventive or Palliative—The results of the writer's investigations and observations have impressed upon him the conviction that the history of human development has been, and still is, a history of getting out of trouble, but seldom or never of steering clear of trouble. It has ever been, and still is, the policy of the public to apply palliatives to sore spots, but seldom to venture to strike at the roots of social disease.

Institutional life is mainly a palliative and only a preventive in a secondary and modified way. As this document deals in the main with institutional life, so will it, in the main, deal with palliatives and only secondarily and incidentally with preventive measures, which, however, are much better worth public consideration. The original sources of social disease lie far too deep to be reached by such a superficial investigation as was made by the author of this booklet. Those who would get at the roots of social disorders must needs delve deep and toil long.

No Occasion for Pessimism—Although society has, heretofore, paid comparatively little attention to effective preventive measures it is encouraging to note that there are more students of social diseases now at work than ever before in the history of civilization, both in Europe and in this country. It is not too much to hope that, when these students have found what needs to be done, publicists will find means for doing the needful things. Meantime, palliatives should be diligently sought and applied, and nowhere with a more discriminating intelligence than in institutional life.

If the foregoing conclusions seem to anticipate what should have been allowed to develop in the body of the book the writer's excuse is that he happened to think of them just at this time.

CHAPTER II.

HUMAN LIMITATIONS.

It may be well to prefix some reasonable bounds to expectation before entering upon an investigation of institutional life, lest we meet with disappointment at every turn. The ordinary reformer is idealistic and so uncompromising in his exactions that he has small patience with performance that falls short of a full realization of his utopian dream. This is discouraging to those who are accomplishing the best results possible under the circumstances in which they must work, and makes against practical improvement.

Highest Altruism Rare—It is too much to expect that all persons in charge of the wards of the state will be forgetful of self in the face of duty. Not all of the members of President Lincoln's cabinet were wholly so, even when confronted by a foe that threatened the national life. There are social service workers who do utterly sink themselves in their work, but there are not any considerable proportion of them capable of entire self-renunciation. Most public institutions must be conducted, in the main, by persons whose hire will be a determining consideration with them.

A Circumscribed Horizon—The nature of institutional life tends to circumscribe the horizons of those entrusted with the management. While visiting eighty-odd institutions I found few persons who seemed to be in doubt as to the wisdom of the policy which they were themselves pursuing, or who had much patience with the advocates of any other policy. There existed in many instances a sense of self-sufficiency which can not have been otherwise than unfavorable to progress, yet this is a very human limitation and not likely to be wholly overcome no matter how many associations of

institutional workers may come into being, and yet such associations do exert a liberalizing tendency.

Tendency to Rut—This tendency touches all things human and nothing more certainly than institutional life. It is not without its value in that it enables society to hold fast, very fast, to that which is good as well as to that which might be bettered were the spirit of enterprise more sharply manifested. This is only another manifestation of the grim inertia of the human race, the paramount obstacle in the way of human development, and we must not be disheartened if we find it also in institutional life.

Lack of a Free Hand—Many a superintendent of an institution would make progress along wise lines were it not for the lack of a free hand, but there are few boards of directors who can resist the temptation to exert sufficient authority to keep their superintendent humbly hedged in, and yet no institution can be completely successful whose executive officer has not plenary powers within the sphere of superintending. The best work in institutional life is done where a single, overmastering personality dominates. If boards of directors would content themselves with outlining general policies, leaving executive functions wholly to their superintendents, better results would be accomplished.

Spirit Strong, Flesh Weak—Finally, with the best intentions imaginable, much less than ideal results must be put up with in institutional life for the reason that it is not humanly possible to make performance commensurate with desire. With the most unbounded zeal work along correct lines is often disappointing, because physical and mental endurance is unequal to the task in hand.

If the reader of this pamphlet shall find Institutional Life disappointing, by reason of a partial failure to "make good," this chapter will enable him to understand the reason why.

CHAPTER III.

WHO ARE THE WARDS OF THE STATE?

A brief survey of the field covered, in whole or in part, by the institutional life of our country will suffice to emphasize what society, with a very large "S," is confronted with.

Disobedient and Untrained—These constitute by far the larger number who are a burden to social order, and that it is so is largely the fault of society itself. Children should not be allowed to grow up untrained, and as long as they are society will not be without its problems of criminality and destitution. Every child is of concern to the state from the very cradle, and the sooner it is looked after the less of a burden is it likely to become. If parents neglect to train their children it is at least partially because society does not enforce parental responsibility.

Earners of the Wages of Sin—These are mainly included in the class mentioned in the preceding paragraph, but they none the less deserve special mention, if for no other reason, then because society itself is seemingly less conscious of sin, plain, old-fashioned sin, than in a former period. We hear much of vice and crime, but sin is the seed of which vice and crime are the full corn in the ear. If the American people could be recalled to an old-time consciousness of the "sinfulness of sin" their institutional load would be much lightened.

Victims of Injustice—This class mainly includes indigent women and dependent children. Many men enter the marriage relation through promptings wholly physical, and when they find the responsibilities incurred irksome, and such men invariably do, they shirk those responsibilities without a grimace. They even do it in the reassuring consciousness that society will

obligingly bear the burden they have thrown off. Their earning capacity suffices only to supply their expansive wants and they live lives of pure self-gratification until they, too, become charges upon public bounty and are buried at public expense. There is nothing that, at the present time, comes nearer to being a "crying" evil than this, and yet society has scarcely begun to look for a remedy for it.

The Superannuated—The cheapening of the earning capacity of capital in the markets of the world has not been an unmixed blessing. It requires that a much larger accumulation than formerly of surplus earnings be made during the hey-day of life for the support of old age, and few there be whose accumulations of a lifetime are sufficient to that end. When no longer able to pull their own weight the superannuated must be sustained by their relatives or by some form of public charity. This has tended to fill hospitals for the insane with persons who are not insane, but who have grown old, not sweetly, but too soon, and who are committed to such institutions for the reason that society has made no other provision for them. A hundred senile cases recently investigated in Massachusetts showed that all of them were better off in the hospitals for the insane than anywhere else they could be put, and yet they had no real right to be there, being only broken in mind as in body, but not in any proper sense insane.

Physical and Moral Cripples—Under a proper social order these would be the only ones with whom organized society would have to concern itself, and, relatively to the whole dependent mass, their number is infinitesimal. The word "degeneracy" is susceptible of infinite abuse. Degeneracy has been defined as being a "degradation of development below the average normal type." There isn't anything very serious in that unless development be so far below the average as to be impossible of reasonable rectification by care-

ful training. The degenerate foreordained to be a burden upon social life comes much nearer being the thousandth than the hundredth man. Most human ills are therefore remediable. The common herd is not a bad herd to breed from if the offspring be given proper nurture from the start, and it is sound policy for society to see to it that it gets it.

The Others—Aside from the classes mentioned above as wards of the state we have with us the blind, the deaf, the insane, the feeble-minded and those camp followers in the campaign of life known as hoboes. The foregoing topics will make sufficient drafts upon the time and patience of the average reader.

CHAPTER IV.

WHAT MAKES GOOD BOYS BAD.

We are all of us animals. Adam was an animal, and every boy born since then has had a good deal of Adam in him. Animalism is the groundwork of the race. Morality consists in warring against and rising superior to primitive instincts which we have in common with the animal world. Social order has prohibited first one and then another form of conduct common to all animals, has done it for the common good, and in spite of propensity. Therefore, the boy that is left to grow up as animals grow, untrained, develops an almost purely physical existence, and every such boy becomes a bad boy.

Disobedience—Not one boy in a hundred has the evolutionary impulse within him strong enough to raise him above the life of the physical being except his steps be guided by parental or other authority. This requires obedience, and where obedience is not required at home authority will be resisted at school and the boy will become a truant or be expelled from

school as unfit to associate with other children. The disobedient pupil is likely to become a disobedient citizen, to wit: a law-breaker.

Paternal Example—There is many a boy in a reform school for no other reason than that he was doing just what his father did, was unsteadily employed, spent his evenings loafing around the streets and saloons and was to be found at his home only at mealtime. There comes a time in the life of most boys when they get beyond the control of their mothers. If paternal responsibility is not then affirmed the boy is likely to be lost.

A Wrong Start—Boys are made bad by giving them a wrong start in life. It is the old story of the twig wrongly bent that resulted in a tree inclined, and this may come about through a variety of ways, but mainly by leaving the boy to his own devices. Left to himself a boy grows up as a young colt would grow, if not vicious at least ungovernable without some drastic form of breaking-in, which task is generally turned over to the police or to the reform school. A boy who is started right may go wrong after all, but he will seldom get entirely away from right standards of living. It will be easier for him to learn to behave than if he had never behaved.

Untrained Hands—There is nothing more intensely alive than the normal boy. There is something doing every waking minute of his life. Nature is doing the best it can to educate him, but, as with all humanity, along animal rather than moral lines. If his hands are not given some good thing to do they will do some evil thing, for do things they must. It is a law of his being.

No Money of His Own—A boy has wants innumerable. Not all of those wants are legitimate, but some of them are. Many boys have as little that they can

call their own, that they do not steal, as the slaves of the South had on the plantations in ante-bellum days. Is there any wonder that the slaves stole from their masters? And is there any wonder that boys without other source of income learn to pick up every thing of value that they lay their hands on? Of all evil habits that of petty larceny is about the hardest to break up, whether formed by a boy or a girl. The thing has been done so many times that it just does itself. It isn't second nature. It is first nature, for that is the way the animal gets all that it has. If morality does not inhibit the practice it will be followed as naturally as eating and drinking. Every child must be trained to be honest, or it will be a thief without guilt if not without guile. The untaught child is under the dispensation of the law of the survival of the fittest, and the fittest is the one most successful in supplying its own physical wants.

Adolescence—The voice-changing period is the most critical in the life of every boy. At this period he is not wholly accountable, and he lives in the present as truly as the bird. The criminal degenerate affirms that "I do the deed first and then afterward I consider it." It is so with almost every boy during the voice-changing period. He does not come into possession of his right mind until that crucial period is over. At that period he demands action, action, action. When reflection starts out to find him it may have to search behind prison bars, the more especially if he has not some good guardian angel in human form to hold him in leash and direct his activities into right channels.

The Black Sheep Problem—But there are boys who go off wrong even from the best regulated families and in spite of the most solicitous and even prayerful care. The problem of the black sheep in the family is a very real problem. There are such sheep, but it does not follow that because they are black they are innately bad. The trouble is that the ordinary family

does not afford the sort of nurture this special creation requires. Institutional life sometimes fits such needs better than family life. By trying to adapt them to the same influences that suffice for their brothers and sisters a failure is scored and a bad boy is produced. Out of the innumerable strains of beings that have contributed to the family heredity there came into this one's veins something alien to the rest of his kin, and the fact was not recognized. Hence the problem of the black sheep in that flock of otherwise untarnished white.

The Human Animal—The fact should never be lost sight of that every human being, of the male sex, is prenatally disposed, from the dawn of puberty to self-realization, to become an anti-social being and almost morbidly individualistic. This tendency should have been forestalled between the cradle and the dawn of puberty. If it was not the result is a bad boy. Such a boy has become bad through misfortune rather than through fault, and the responsibility rests primarily upon shoulders other than his own.

CHAPTER V.

WHAT MAKES BAD BOYS GOOD.

Those who have read the preceding chapter at all thoughtfully had suggested to their own minds as they went along the proper remedies to be applied to most of the ailments therein suggested. It will therefore be unnecessary to recapitulate, but only to add some conclusions I have reached in the light of what I have seen and heard.

Transplanting—Many shrubs spring up in the forest which fail of coming to a useful maturity for want of opportunity. They are shaded, starved and dried out until they live merely to exist, but not to grow to fruitful use. More than half of the so-called bad boys

are in need of transplanting. They have been overshadowed by bad example, starved for want of loving nurture, have stuck their roots into scanty domestic soil, and their innate demand for physical action, not having been rightly directed, has developed them into public nuisances. The best place to put such a boy is in a good home where he will be kindly, but firmly, handled, as a promising colt assuredly would be because possessed of a property value. So is the boy possessed of a property value. Every robust, productive, well-ordered and skilled mechanic is worth \$2000 a year to the state. Every capable criminal will cost the state \$2000 a-year while at large. It is worth while to transplant youthful shoots that need it. Next to a good home, a good military or training school is best for training an overly individualistic youth. This schooling should be obtained through an enforcement of parental responsibility, wherein we are now weak and vascillating. If there be no other recourse, then send the lad to a public reform school. He may not there find the best sort of chance to grow normally, but he will be given a chance, and probably the first chance he has ever had. Most of the so-called reformations of character effected by reform schools belong to this class. They have given these boys a chance, and they have made use of it. That is the whole story.

Self-Realization—"First the blade and then the ear and then the full corn in the ear." That is the normal process of human development; and the full corn is self-realization, and the crown of that glory is common sense. There are belated beings who do not achieve common sense until comparatively late in life, and some never achieve it and are impracticable fools and ne'er-do-wells all their lives. The normal and well-trained child will come into his inheritance of common sense, usually, between eighteen and twenty-one years of age. Those who have not had proper youthful training may be sent into retirement in an institution and be there

held on to, and kept from harming themselves and the public, until self-realization develops. Next to transplanting, this opportunity to await self-realization and common sense in seclusion has scored more so-called reformations of bad boys than anything else.

Probation—But the best time to make a bad boy good is before he becomes bad. Pardon the Hibernianism! Most so-called bad boys are not really bad. They are only becoming so. This development of badness is the nuisance period of their lives. They plague the police and the neighbors, and are hustled off to a reform school to be gotten rid of. This is a wrong to the boy, and often he can be set about-face at this time with a little effort. He has had his own injurious way and needs to feel the grip of the law on his shoulder. The juvenile court and probation officer may, if they exercise the faculty of common sense, perform a vast service at this stage of adverse development, but they must not, through weakness, make a travesty of probation. I have found boys in reform schools who had been on probation as many as eleven times before being committed to a reform school. It is right to give an unruly boy a chance, and another chance, and possibly still another, but there must be some not too distant barrier over which he can not leap without being summarily brought to book. The boy will know how far he can go without being told, and is likely to go the limit.

Parental Responsibility—In every case parental responsibility should be exhausted before the hand of the law is laid upon the delinquent boy. There are those who seem to feel (think they do not) that they are at liberty to reproduce their unprofitable kind unlimitedly and turn the litter loose to hustle for itself. Such persons need to be forced to discharge the duty of parentage, the highest duty of citizenship, or take consequences as serious to themselves as disciplinary regulations can inflict. The American public is cul-

pably lax in enforcing parental responsibility. Juvenile courts are doing much to remedy this defect, and their efforts are worthy of cordial and determined support.

Real Reformation Rare—When I started out on my recent pilgrimage I had entertained the hope that I should somewhere find an institution of some sort that could successfully undertake the reformation of a deformed human character. I might as well have sought the Holy Grail. The institutions I saw were devoted to the formation, not the re-formation of character. Deformed characters are sometimes reformed, but not by institutions constructed by human hands or by laws fashioned by human minds. If the soul of the wayward be touched by the grace of God with power, as in the case of Paul on the way to Damascus, the crooked character may be made straight. Institutional life has not many re-formations of that character to take credit for. It may bear witness as to some, but not of its own doing.

The chapter on manual training will throw some additional light upon the subject of this chapter.

CHAPTER VI.

WHAT MAKES GOOD GIRLS BAD.

Nature has ordained that the girl, much more than the boy, is likely to be sinned against. This fact has inspired all civilized societies to safeguard girls much more carefully than boys. Where girls go to the bad it is mainly because the social order in which they were reared was not civilized. It may have had the outward semblance of civilization, but inwardly it was primitive if not savage.

Broken Homes—Firstly, secondly and thirdly, what makes good girls bad is broken homes, broken homes, broken homes! The home may have been broken by death or by divorce, or yet by separation without

divorcee, but whatever breaks up the home establishes favoring conditions for good girls becoming bad girls. The roster of every girls' reform school in America will bear testimony to this fact.

The Silly Age—Almost every girl has a silly age corresponding to the "bull calf" age of the boy. This is her vulnerable period. At that time, unless restrained, she is given to gadding, and the gadding girl forms few good associations and many bad ones. If there are scandals connected with the public or other schools which the girl attends it is at this time. The girl is impressionable to a degree, has little common sense, is averse to sustained employment of any kind and wants money to spend.

Stubbornness—When an attempt is made to restrain a girl at this period of life she is not unlikely to become stubborn and rebellious. Her mother can handle her to little better advantage than she can handle her half-grown son, and, if she be a weak woman, she gives up trying. In Connecticut stubbornness is a misdemeanor and gives the state the right to interfere for the protection of the wrong-headed girl from herself. Such interference is generally timely and productive of good results.

Accessory to the Fact—At this period in a girl's life she wants to make herself attractive. She would not be a daughter of Eve if she did not. Like the boy, she wants to quit school and go to work, often in some department store in a great city where she can dress well and see, and be seen, by many people. The manager of the great department store is exacting with regard to her personal appearance, but in most instances is parsimonious in the measure of compensation for services rendered. He knows that the girl can not keep up appearances on her weekly stipend, and he may be well assured that if she can not, and her own relatives do not come to her rescue, she will be tempted to

barter her honor for the finery she craves. He has therefore made himself accessory before the fact to her seduction, and an accomplice before the fact stands in the same situation, as to moral turpitude, as the principal offender. Commercial greed has done nothing more damning than this. Nearly every girl sent to a reform school or erring women's home is there mainly because of unchastity, and no inconsiderable part of the unchastity of fallen womanhood is traceable to this cause. It is time public sentiment took up arms against this cause for the downfall of immature womanhood.

The Roadhouse—All over the country roadhouses and wayside inns are to be found where liquors are sold to those who find occasion to patronize them while out riding in automobiles, carriages or on bicycles. The sex organism of the female is much more readily influenced by alcoholic stimulation than that of the male. Many, perhaps most, fallen women affirm, very likely in good faith, that their downfall was accomplished through their being drugged. In many cases they were probably not drugged. They were merely plied with wine at some roadhouse or side-entrance saloon after the vaudeville. That was sufficient. Society has some responsibilities here, too, if it is to make pretense to civilization.

The Maternal Instinct—After all, the thing which, more than all else, leads the steps of adolescent girlhood away from the path of rectitude and furnishes the impulse for the self-indulgent life is the maternal instinct, if not newly born, at least powerfully emphasized by the processes attending a budding womanhood. As a rule the inmates of rescue homes have a passionate love for babies, their own and everybody's. Until self-realization and the dawn of commonsense judgment come to her rescue society can not too safely guard the possessor of this instinct against such an abuse of it as a possible over-emphasis may inflict.

The Natural-Born Prostitute—There are those who wash their hands of responsibility for the social evil, which haunts with sleuth-like tread the path of every girl whose steps are inclined to wander, by declaring that most bad girls are innately bad and it was that they might be of the demi-monde that they were born into the world. This is not and never was true of any considerable number of women. The girls who go wrong are much like other girls, only more giddy and silly because less carefully trained. Born harlots there are, but they are as rare as born geniuses. Probably not one prostitute in a hundred, and not one wayward girl in ten thousand, is of that character. There are very few of them in the reform schools for girls; but a serious degree of depravity may be acquired when not inherited. It is for the prevention of this tendency that society needs to put forth its most determined effort.

CHAPTER VII.

HOW BAD GIRLS ARE MADE GOOD.

No small part of the method of reformation suggested for bad boys is equally applicable to the reformation of bad girls, and yet the problem is constitutionally different. The wayward boy has no Nemesis camping on his trail. Every wayward girl has. This makes her problem more difficult.

The Love of a Good Woman—Of all remedial measures less than divine, to be sought for the redemption of a wayward girl, the unselfish love of a good woman ranks first. Such a woman must not only be good, and capable of a boundless love for her weakling sisters, but she must be strong, a sort of haven of refuge to whom the stricken may fly for sympathy, counsel and protection. There are such women, and when a reform school gets such an one at its head it achieves success. When it does not it fails substantially if not utterly.

Holding in Leash—As with boys, so with girls, they are sometimes redeemed to right living by being held under an unsleeping surveillance until they come to themselves, which they are likely to do, if at all, by the time they are twenty-one. If to a wayward tendency they have added the drinking habit, and morphine, if they have come to crave the sensational life of the redlight district they may, even after self-realization, return to the old life by deliberate preference. If so, so be it. They will take places that would otherwise be filled by better material, will not be likely to reproduce their kind more than once before sterility possesses them, and their end will be no great way off. Society owes girls the duty of holding them in leash until they have reached a capacity for making an intelligent, if not always a wise choice, after which the issue must rest with them. About half of those taken out of prostitution will return to it of their own free wills, but not so much for the gratification of the sex emotion as for the wild life that goes with it.

Unceasing Occupation—Intelligent and effective labor is, next to Love, the best reformatory agent for wayward girls. They are all untrained. It is the rarest thing imaginable to find a girl committed to a reformatory who comes there with a good knowledge of cooking, sewing and general housekeeping. Usually such girls can not even sweep or dust, wash dishes or scrub kitchen floors. When they have learned to perform sustained labor of any kind for half a day at a time they are on the high-road toward reformation. The sewing classes, cooking schools, classes in dress-making and millinery appeal to them, as a rule very readily.

Accomplishments—The normal girl takes to accomplishments as a duck to water. These may be superficial, but if they are showy they will serve, often a very useful purpose. Music, instrumental and vocal, fancy work, elocutionary recitations and theatricals, drills, physical training—all tend to broaden the sphere of

girlish interest and to save from the purely physical and emotional lives they have been leading. Education comes hard to them, for the reason that they have had little of it. Most girls sent to reform schools are not beyond the third or fourth grades in the public schools and many have had no education at all. Give the girls a chance. Often it is all they need, or ever have needed, in order to become good girls and good women, and many a girl goes out of a reform school and into domestic service so much more accomplished than her rural sisters that she is soon married to some reputable young farmer and lives happily and worthily ever after.

Matrimony and Motherhood—It was at first with some misgivings that I found a well-organized matrimonial bureau connected with a reform school for girls, but I have become reconciled to it. I was fearful as to what the harvest might be because I had been haunted with the conviction that most reform school girls were essentially abnormal and not good stock to derive American citizens from. There is some danger from this cause, but no more than from the customary marrying and giving in marriage in society at large. The percentage of congenital abnormality is not essentially higher in institutional life than out of it. There is plenty of it everywhere. But the wayward girl, held in leash until trained for the performance of life's ordinary duties, and then married to a reputable man, is as well disposed of as she can be. And when a pledge of love, in the shape of a first baby, nestles next to her matronly heart her cup of joy invariably overflows to the good woman whose all-encompassing love first set her upon her feet and made her to stand upon them until she could stand alone. She is then a saved woman if anything less than divine grace can ever save a woman who gets started in the wrong direction.

In speaking of the normality of reform school girls I have made a mental reservation touching those who are feeble-minded or insane, for these have no business

in a reform school, and are given consideration in a separate chapter. Every reform school should have at command the services of an expert alienist to aid in weeding out this class. Nothing worth while can be done for them in such an institution.

CHAPTER VIII.

IN THE LIGHT OF FIFTY YEARS.

The Reform School at Rochester, New York, is one of the oldest, and has been recognized as one of the best, in the country. It has had fifty years of experience with the problem of juvenile reformation and has made a record well worth studying.

Began with Bolts and Bars—In the beginning it was a prison. The truant and delinquent lads sent to it to be reformed were thrown into prison cells and forced to thrust their little hands out through prison bars at night in order that they might be counted to see that none had run away from this delightful retreat. It kept the boys where the dogs could not bite them, but returned comparatively few of them to society prepared for a reputable citizenship.

Manual Training Era—The best work this institution has ever done in the way of reforming bad boys and girls was during the hey-day of the manual training era. For some years the institution enjoyed the services of a very capable and enthusiastic believer in manual training, and the boys, and girls, too, took hold of the work with great zeal, but this teacher overworked to the point of nervous prostration, and afterward manual training became by degrees more and more subordinated to the industrial work of supplying the wants of the school. It is still employed, but not with the old-time enthusiasm and with results less beneficial, though still important.

Military Discipline—In 1886 military discipline was inaugurated by an excellent disciplinarian, and this feature at once became the dominant spirit of the school. It was carried so far as to equip the boys with rifles and sharp bayonets, but from that day to this no serious casualty has occurred because of these youngsters being thus armed with weapons that would enable them, if they were to conspire to that end, to murder every officer in the institution. Military discipline has been an aid in teaching obedience and in giving the lads carriage and address, but it turns out an institutional product. Every school should have something of military training, but the experience at Rochester has demonstrated that it is not well to have the military idea overshadow all others. It is a good assistant, but a bad master.

Corporal Punishment Abolished—A few years later the military régime was so far modified as to permit the inauguration of a system of discipline based on fatigue duty instead of corporal punishment, which has now been abolished in New York by law. The disciplinarian was a very capable woman, and her disciplinary system was intelligent, humane and firm. Great things were expected of it and much good was accomplished by it, but the fatigue tasks gradually grew longer and more severe, the solitary confinements more numerous and prolonged, until they became no less severe than corporal punishment, reasonably inflicted. Besides, the military teachers were constantly protesting against a divided authority and, finally, after fifteen years of trial, the advocates of militarism won out and the excellent woman disciplinarian was given other work to do at Albany. It is so much easier to *make* a boy do right than to cause him to do right because right is best for him, and so much more readily comprehensible by the average male officer in a reformatory institution, that the military gentlemen in charge feel that they have achieved a great victory.

Their success is to be short lived. As the inmates are transferred to the farm, now in process of preparation, militarism will be subordinated to domesticity, if it be not abolished altogether, which would also be unfortunate.

Girls' Department Closed—About ten years ago, the last of the girls having been discharged or placed out, and no new ones admitted, this department was closed. Co-reformation had not worked well. The knowledge of the character of girls in the institution was sufficient within itself to prove a demoralizing tendency. Their co-education was not, however, given a fully satisfactory trial because the teachers started out with a radical disbelief in it. Under a cottage system, where the inmates are carefully classified as to character, it might work well, but the result is at best problematical. This will be the more apparent if the reader will bethink him of what would be the probable results upon the morality of any co-educational institution if it came to be known that there were in attendance a number of young women of questionable morality.

Going to the Country—As a result of the fifty years of experience of Rochester Reform School it is moving to the country and will soon become "The Agricultural and Industrial Reform School" of Western New York. For this purpose 1406 acres of fairly good land have been purchased at Pixley, not far from Rochester, and it is being transformed into thirty farms or gardens. The farms will comprise about fifty acres each. The gardens will be smaller and correspondingly more intensely cultivated. The buildings on each farm will cost about \$10,000 and will accommodate 25 boys each, with barns for cows and horses, pigs and chickens. Each two-cottages will constitute a school district, and the teacher will hold school in one during the morning hours and in the other during the afternoon. The housework will be done mainly by the boys, and a half of each day will be given to farm work. There will be

shops centrally located for such industrial work as self-support requires to have done. The brightest lads will be given the shop work. The dunderheads will farm. It is to be hoped that the New York farmer will not prove insensible to the delicate compliment thus conveyed him.

The Redemptive Element—If the new system is to evolve any saving grace above the old it will be because of the quality of the "house fathers" and "house mothers" who are to be put in immediate charge of the thirty cottages. They are being selected by civil service methods. Each man and wife will receive \$900 a year and house and food. The crucial struggle now is to find the right persons for these positions. They must be without children of their own, resolute, robust and tactful, with hearts in their work, or the scheme will fail.

Agricultural Education Not Contemplated—This sort of education is thought to be beyond reform school boys. The house masters are to receive instruction in methods from the college of agriculture at Cornell, and something of this is expected to filter down to the boys, but the plan is to make physical, not educated, farmers or, more properly, farm laborers.

Their Stay Short—Fifty years of experience has taught the wisdom of getting boys out of the reform school as soon as possible. Their average stay is not above a year, during which time the refractory lad may be partially trained, if at all. He is then placed out at work and looked after outside under a good system of parole and visitation. It will be found less necessary to shorten the stay of boys under the cottage than under the congregate system which has heretofore obtained.

CHAPTER IX.

THE LYMAN SCHOOL FOR BOYS.

This institution is at Westboro, Massachusetts, a few miles out from Worcester, and was established as long ago as 1848. It was under the congregate system at first, as were all institutions of this class, but as long ago as 1861 it began to change to the cottage plan, completing the change in 1885. There are now eleven cottages, each holding 30 to 38 boys, a house father and mother and one teacher as a boarder. There are some, and should be as many as ten, single rooms in each cottage to be earned by good conduct. The rest sleep in dormitories.

Well Sifted Out—No lad is admitted to this school who has not made for himself an institutional record. The aim is, not to get boys into the school, but to keep them out if possible and to get them out as soon as possible. Therefore, no boy enters the Lyman school until the probation officer gives him up as a bad job and not until the law has done all it can do to enforce parental responsibility. If lads are committed as young as twelve years of age they are not brought directly to the institution, but are sent to a detention home twelve miles away, where they are left in the custody of a good man and woman, a good teacher and one or two attendants, with the view of straightening them up there if possible. In many if not most cases it is possible, and the youngsters are not brought to the reform school at all.

Boarded Out—Massachusetts has an elaborate and successful boarding-out system for delinquent as well as dependent children. It pays \$2 per week board and allows \$25 per year for clothes. These younger delinquents are placed with reputable farmers at this price, where they are sent to the public school and to church

and are taught to work between times. They are kindly but firmly treated and, in most instances, are given their first real chance to be something, and that chance suffices.

Sloyd and Garden—If the lad committed is over twelve, or if the detention home above referred to did not reform him, he is brought to the institution and assigned to a cottage according to his "youth" rather than according to his age, for there is a difference in point of attainment. For half the day he works in the open air or in the sloyd room and for half a day he goes to school, but a constant attempt is made to get at the intellectual through the manual, and with much success. I saw the autumnal remains of 325 school gardens; and practically all of them had been successful. In winter the structure of leaves and the mystery of germination are taught with unflagging zeal on the part of the students, who watch the unfolding of nature's processes with greatest interest. The sloyd teachers are women, and are more successful than men teachers, because they are able to take the whole boy into their hearts. They not only teach him sloyd, but he must learn all he can about the history of the tools and different woods, used and write original compositions about them. This quickens the whole process into life and creates that living interest without which there is no progress worth mentioning. The farm and the dairy supplement the gardening, as the carpenter's shop and cabinet-maker's supplement sloyd. It is surprising how, by these methods, the almost uniformly blunted intellects of these boys are quickened into sharpness and stimulated to do things worth while.

The Discipline—It is recognized by Superintendent Chapin that a large measure of personal liberty is essential to normal growth of character and, for this reason, he trusts his charges a good deal. Occasionally a boy runs away. If so he is generally caught and brought back and he and his associates thereby learn a lesson

in law not without value. If, however, a boy shows himself to be an incorrigible runaway he is transferred to Concord Reformatory, which, being a walled prison, closely guarded, holds him. If ordinary methods of fatigue punishment do not suffice to correct bad conduct, a little contrivance called the lash is applied stingingly. It is made up of about ten inches of rubber gas hose fastened to a pine stick with a leather string. It does not weigh over four ounces handle and all, but it serves its purpose well. If this does not meet requirements the refractory boy is not given over to Satan to be tortured in hades until the remedial influences of a young hickory switch have been thoroughly tested. It has been known to work like a charm where all else had failed, but its application is reserved as a dernier resort, and it probably is not the hundredth bad boy who requires it. The military has a good, but subordinate, place in the disciplinary system.

The Home Tie—Superintendent Chapin has found the home tie extremely important to hold on to in redeeming a bad boy. A good many boys run away through home-sickness. If they love home well enough to behave at home they are placed on parole there and, sometimes, are allowed to remain. The hope of going home is held ever before them and they are kept in as close touch with home as possible, unless the home is in fact utterly unfit; but almost any home is better than no home and the home is given the benefit of any doubt that may exist. The severing of the home tie makes savages of most men, and not less so of boys. There is little reason to doubt that the crimes against womanhood which young negroes have committed since the war are directly attributable to this cause. As long as negroes had homes on the old plantations the persons of white women in the "big house" were sacred in their eyes, and the men folks were able to go to war to fight against the freeing of the slaves, perfectly secure in the knowledge that the slaves, against whose

freedom they were fighting, would preserve their white mistresses and their families free from all harm. Not all reform schools value the "home tie" as rationally and usefully as does Lyman School for Boys.

The Parole System—Although Lyman school has an average attendance of only about 335 boys, whose comings and goings amount to about 200 a year, Massachusetts thinks it worth while to maintain four parole officers to find homes for the lads who are ready to go out and to visit them when they have gone out. For the year ending September 30, 1905, there went out from the school boys to the number of about 300. Of these, 142 were paroled to parents, 88 went to others, and 49 were boarded out. The remainder ran away and were not caught or were transferred to the Concord Reformatory, either because of running away or on account of developing criminal tendencies. When paroled the boys are visited several times a year by the regular parole officers, usually until 21, although they are allowed to make their own contracts for service after reaching 18 years of age. All told, it costs only about half as much to keep the boys out of the institution as to keep them in it, and they are the better for it.

A book the size of this one might easily be written about the Lyman School for Boys.

CHAPTER X.

THE GLEN MILLS HOUSE OF REFUGE.

This is one of the model institutions of our country. It is an hour's ride out of Philadelphia, is owned by a self-perpetuating benevolent corporation, has 535 acres of land and has an investment of a round million of dollars, but it takes only children committed to it by the courts. The girls' division is in Philadelphia, having been divorced from the co-reformatory idea in the light of fuller experience.

Trades and Agriculture—This is primarily a trades school, although a good deal of profitable farm work is done. No especial effort is made to teach agriculture as a profession. About ten trades are taught and the appliances for teaching are very good, but it has been found that even if a boy learns a trade pretty thoroughly he can not command a man's wages until he has reached a man's age. A position as an advanced apprentice is about as good a thing as a graduate can hope for, even if he be ever so proficient, and some of the graduates do become quite proficient. There are about 700 boys in attendance.

The Cottage Plan—The houses of refuge for the Glen Mills boys consist of fifteen very handsome cottages, housing about 50 boys under each roof. In classifying them one absolute division is made, as at Rochester and Lyman school, at puberty. Within the two subdivisions thus made, the next divisions are made more as to equality of size than age, and the final divisions with regard to moral fiber. Each cottage is in charge of a master and matron, and the master must be a teacher of mechanics during the day. The requirements are exacting. The pay for man and wife, with not more than one child, ranges from \$800 to \$900 a year, with house and board, lights and fuel found; but to meet all requirements the house master has got to be a good mechanic, and a good instructor in mechanics, and his wife must be a good housekeeper and capable of commanding the esteem and obedience of a family of fifty bad boys. It looks at first thought as though these exactions were beyond realization, but by a system of careful selection, on the part of the superintendent himself, absolutely untouched by political or other outside influence, the applicants being trained first as reliefs, a working degree of success has been achieved. This gives something of an idea of what the much vaunted "cottage plan" requires for successful realization.

The Spirit of Glen Mills—I found the spirit and policy of the Glen Mills institution more noteworthy for its own intelligence and excellence than for patience with other systems maintained by other institutions—institutions, by the way, producing about the same results, and for reasons set forth in the chapter on “What Makes Bad Boys Good.” The essential elements of the Glen Mills idea are, first, the making of full use of the home instinct. Boys are required to write home at least once a month, and may receive visits from home once a month, and, in all ways, the boy is reminded of home life when possible.

Second, for reformatory or, as Superintendent Niebecker terms it, “formatory,” influence great reliance is placed upon the personality of the personnel of house masters and matrons, teachers and such other officials as are engaged in the work of the institution. No loose talk, unmannerly or degrading influences are allowed, and the treatment of the lads must be such as is expected from them. All the employés are high-grade people.

Third, discipline is *en masse*, and for the reason that the bad boy is, as elsewhere more fully explained, preëminently and even exasperatingly an individualist, who must learn that concessions from absolute liberty of action must be made for the common good of the social whole. The boy can not learn this anywhere else so well as under a congregate system of life and discipline. There he gets the social instinct hustled or punched into him.

Fourth, and finally, education at Glen Mills is in severalty. If the congregate mass were too great this could not be accomplished, but by having a good number of teachers, and limiting the sizes of classes to fifteen or sixteen, and having only half-day attendance upon the schools of letters, much individual work can be done. In short, the educational system at Glen Mills approximates as closely as possible to that of the “little red school house,” where the boy goes into a

higher class when he is ready and promotions are not made by classes.

Parole and Discharge—Lads are committed to the House of Refuge until their majority, but a very earnest and attentive lad may earn his way out in eighteen months. The average time is two years and one month. At Lyman school it is 20.39 months. It may be remembered that at Rochester it was thought best to get the boy out if possible in one year. The same was held to be true at the Catholic Protectory at Westchester, New York. It seems to me that both policies are well grounded. Under the enlarged congregate system the individualistic boy is likely to have learned his lesson in social concession within a year. After that, if he remains, he is likely to lose his power of self-direction and become absorbed by the mass spirit. In a modified congregate-cottage system, as at Lyman and Glen Mills, this last danger is not so serious but that the advantages to be gained by remaining longer and learning more outweigh the danger. I find myself in substantial agreement with both contentions.

Discipline—Military drill is maintained at Glen Mills for the sake of the drill, but militarism does not dominate. Physical training under a most competent director exerts an important influence in straightening up characters as well as bodies, and these trainings are stimulated by competitive athletic exercises at frequent intervals. Sloyd is employed to good advantage with the younger lads, but the older boys are worked into practical manufacture as soon as possible. They like to do real things, and at least some of their buildings have been erected by them. Glen Mills does not exactly have a merit system, but it does have a demerit system, and daily charges are made against each lad's record where they are deserved. The extreme penalty is the application of the rattan, which is infrequent, deprivation of privileges being ordinarily sufficient to secure good behavior. Want of character is what

brought the lads to the institution, and they are sent out as soon as there is reason to believe them capable of intelligent and honest self-direction. There are three parole officers who visit those who have gone out, and the percentage of redemptions ranks up with the best of similar institutions.

The location of the House of Refuge is both beautiful and healthful, and my visit to the institution was as agreeable as I hope it will be profitable.

CHAPTER XI.

THE GEORGE JUNIOR REPUBLIC.

This is something new under the sun in the way of a reformatory institution. It is beautifully located at Freeville, in Central New York, over against one of those incomparable New York slopes that one never tires of, leaning gently up against the horizon. It commands a fine prospect and affords fair soil for farming. The area controlled by the institution comprises 350 acres, of which 200 acres are cultivated by the boys of the institution.

"Daddy"—The founder of the institution, Mr. W. R. George, belongs in a class all by himself. To all of the children under his care he is known only as "Daddy," as familiarly known as ever any daddy was. The first impression made upon meeting this gentleman is that one has encountered a very mellow personality, a fad-dist if not a gusher, but a little further acquaintance persuades one that although "Daddy" may be very soft and pliable on the exterior it is not very far under the skin to where a sound, and quite inflexible granite manhood exists. He was a police officer in New York when Theodore Roosevelt was police commissioner in that city. He had a roving commission and busied himself with studying the delinquent boy in his lair, with special reference to "de head of de gang." He

also interested himself in the deprivations of childhood in the congested districts, and his first work for the amelioration of delinquent and dependent childhood was to organize summer vacation trips to the home of his own boyhood out at Freeville.

It was out of this experience that Mr. George evolved his Junior Republic idea. The crucial issue is whether the success of the enterprise is due to Mr. George or to his system. He thinks that it is due to his system. I am inclined to the opinion that it is to Mr. George and his extraordinary personality.

Mr. George is himself an athlete, and he requires the maintenance of no artificial atmosphere of dignity to surround him in order to preserve the respect as well as the love of all his charges. They are at liberty to take hold of him at any time, catch as catch can, to stroke his chin and ruffle his hair with the fond familiarity of the wife of his bosom, or to make him knuckle down in a contest of finger power, which, I think, no one of them has ever been able to accomplish. A citizen of Freeville related to me this characteristic incident: While lying prone upon the lawn five of his husky football players took advantage of the opportunity to jump on to "Daddy" to hold him down. He tossed one off with one arm, a second with the other and got up with three on his back. No trouble for that kind of a specimen of physical manhood to command the respect of adolescent humanity!

For Boys and Girls Both—On the day of my visit the Junior Republic numbered 84 boys and 45 girls. They range from 14 years up to 17 or 18, and some of the older ones may be nearing one-and-twenty. The girls have their own hotel, but they do the work for the other hotels also. They all go to school half a day and work the other half, and with as much freedom as in the public schools, except that no girl is allowed out of doors after dusk unattended by an older woman. There have been some minor scandals because of the

co-educational feature, but, as Mr. George declared, not one to where there would have been a hundred among the same persons outside, and yet no girl of known immoral tendencies is admitted to the republic.

The Raw Material—Mr. George divides delinquent humanity into three general classes. In the first he puts those who have robust wills and won'ts. They are headstrong and not unlikely to be stubborn. In the ordinary reformatory institution they are not unlikely to prove intractable and to be turned over to penal institutions as being incorrigible. Mr. George especially desires to secure the custody of persons of this class, because he believes that, under favoring conditions, something the better worth while can be made out of them. The material is of the most valuable sort, but is being spoiled in the making.

A second class are not essentially bad, but lack motive power. Neither their wills nor their won'ts are especially strong, but they are inclined to deceive and to steal. In such cases he searches for a dominating trend in a right direction, toward mechanics, music, art or whatever promises most, and, by assiduous cultivation of this faculty, he seeks to smother the criminal tendency, which may be outgrown.

The third subdivision of delinquent humanity is made up of those creatures of habit who do the things they have been accustomed to do, whether good or evil. Mr. George thinks that as these can be handled well enough by ordinary reform schools he can better direct his efforts to the first two classes and, by preference, the first, commonly regarded as most difficult.

The System—Mr. George's system of character forming or, reforming, is so simple as to go clear back to the elemental impulses underlying all human society. The first proposition is that there shall be nothing without labor, but everything with it. Every new inmate must pay for his board in advance or he does not eat. He is at liberty to seek for work as soon as his

name has been booked, but if he has means he may hire a room at a hotel in the colony, pay for his board in advance and look about a bit. He may even borrow of those who will lend, but if he begs he is arrested and thrown into jail upon a charge of vagrancy. The vagrant works on the republic chaingang, eats on a bare table off tin dishes and sleeps in the splendid jail John D. Rockefeller gave—the cornerstone of the republic. The raw recruit is not unlikely to spend half his time for the first six months in jail, but when it finally soaks into his consciousness that there is really “nothing without labor,” he has been given a right start.

The Saving Grace of Property—As soon as the raw recruit gets out of jail and develops a determination to work, his way is made easy. He will be allowed \$1.50 per week for going to school, and \$4.50 to \$6 per week for 'prentice work in any of the trades, all payable in the aluminum money of the republic and redeemable at the republic's store, hotels, and boarding-houses. Now as soon as the New York “tough” secures a room of his own and a little bunch of worldly possessions which he has earned he is in favor of law and order.

If all the sneak-thieves and pickpockets of New York were marooned on an island and left to work out their own destinies it would not be a fortnight before they would be enacting strict laws against sneak-thievery and pocket-picking and would enforce those laws by doing some expeditious hanging. Property rights are elemental and powerful factors in holding society together, and the George Junior Republic has made a fundamental use of those rights.

The Government—Stripped of a few high sounding names, such as President, Secretary of State, Secretary of the Treasury, etc., the government of the George Junior Republic is that of a New England or New York town. The legislative body consists of the whole citizenry who are fortunate enough to be out of jail

assembled in town meeting. The girls over 14 have the same rights of citizenship as the boys, and the constitution allows a large liberty of home rule. In the background is a veto power vested in Mr. George, but he has used it very rarely if at all. He finds it better to permit mistakes to be made, discovered and remedied by the citizens themselves.

There is a court presided over by an elected judge, which sits in a public hall once or twice a week for the consideration of all infractions of the laws of the republic, and it sits with gravity and deals with delinquents with an almost unvarying soundness of judgment. There is also a court of appeal in the persons of certain members of the management, but few decisions are reversed. In short, whatever any well-ordered community will do under a given state of circumstances to preserve order and defend property is done in the George Junior Republic and by the regularly constituted authorities of that republic.

The Difference—Outside, the strong-willed boy or girl comes in conflict with laws which others have made. Here one comes in contact with laws which he has himself had a share in making. Outside, to be arrested by a portly "cop" and taken to a court for trial, and into the newspapers, possibly with portrait annexed, and then sent to "do time" in some prison or reformatory, is to become a petty hero with the gang, and is necessary to becoming the head of the gang. Here, to be arrested by a boy policeman and brought before a boy judge, and made to work on a boy chaingang under boy supervision for a boy and girl republic, is not a thing to boast about when back with the gang. It takes the braggadocio all out of a fellow and gives him a chance to see the better way.

The newcomer who vaunts of the bad things he has done outside is set down as a suspicious character, and if an offense is committed anywhere in the republic, he is forthwith arrested on suspicion and thrown into jail pending investigation. An experience or two of

this kind puts a stop to boasting of being a bad man, and the lad tries to get into the good graces of the community instead of being its ever-present victim. The jail is, as already stated, much used by newcomers.

Large Liberty Allowed—As soon as a newcomer becomes a citizen, and has entered into the spirit of citizenship, he is permitted the largest measure of liberty. He goes and comes as he pleases, remembering only that he is a citizen of the republic and that he owes it an honest allegiance. The school has now been graded up so that it fits its graduates for college, and the lad who has fitted himself for college, and wants to go, will not be without some friend of the republic to furnish the needful means, to be repaid when it can be, and a number of young persons from the republic are now taking college courses in different institutions of learning.

A Thought-Inspiring Institution—It is too much to say that the George Junior Republic idea has demonstrated its superiority to all other ideas underlying reformatory institutions. It has been feeling its way along. is still poor and far from self-sustaining. I found that managers of other reformatory institutions had little faith in the George Junior experiment, but they also had, generally speaking, little faith in any system of reformation except their own. It is human to believe that the best way to secure right action is to compel it, but if the general government at Washington were to seek to govern this country on principles applied by the ordinary reform school its authority would be overthrown in a fortnight. The American citizen will not be governed by any one not of his own choosing, and the headstrong boy will not. At the republic he is allowed to become self-governing. I can not restrain the thought that every reform school might be made more democratic and less autocratic with profit, and it is not impossible that the George Junior idea might have some place in the social economy of prisons.

Legislating in the Light of Experience—I am loath to leave this subject without making some reference to the George Junior Republic's experience with the eight-hour labor law. The agitation for an eight-hour labor day struck the republic with full force and the boys were all heartily in favor of it, but the girls protested that they could not do their household work in eight hours, when they had deducted therefrom four hours devoted to attendance upon school, a universal system for all workers at the republic. The boys contended that the girls could do their part as well as the boys if they only planned their work aright and worked diligently while they worked, so the eight-hour day was established by overwhelming vote after thorough discussion.

The evening succeeding the morning when the eight-hour law went into effect there was not a supper served in the George Junior Republic. The girls saw that the boys were all quitting work when the eight hours were up and so they dropped their domestic duties right where they were without having made a single supper ready. They acted fairly, for, as they had prepared no suppers for the boys, neither had they for themselves, and all retired at night with only such cold comfort to sustain them as the remains of former meals put away in the cupboards could afford.

This practical working of the eight-hour law sufficed without further experimentation and the legislative body of the republic was called into immediate and extraordinary session and the law repealed without a dissenting voice. Since then the citizens of the George Junior Republic have worked until their work was done without reference to whether the working day consisted of eight hours or nine or even ten. A closed social circle like this republic is not at all a bad place in which to test the practicability of economic theories of questionable soundness, and the eight-hour idea is not the only one that has been subjected to a convincing experience since the republic was established.

CHAPTER XII.

MICHIGAN INDUSTRIAL HOME FOR GIRLS.

Before visiting the above-mentioned institution I had conceived the idea, more perhaps by processes of *a priori* reasoning than from actual observation and experience, that a state is by nature poorly equipped to undertake the reformation of a wayward girl, but this institution, and some others I have seen, have demonstrated that the state can do the work as well as any other organization, provided always that it will turn the job over to a good, capable woman, sustain her efforts and let her alone.

Success Achieved—Michigan has succeeded by turning the task over to Mrs. Lucy M. Sickels, a capable and good woman, but a woman with a mind of her own and very definite ideas of what she wants to do and why she wants to do it. The Board of Guardians under whose general directions she works, strives to forward rather than to thwart her efforts, and she has entire liberty of choice in making the selection of her subordinates. This is the crucial point. Without this no good thing can come out of any reformatory institution.

The Plant—I found at this little colony, a mile out of the attractive town of Adrian, a population of 350 girls between the ages of 10 and 18 years, all of whom had been incorrigible so far as home and other discipline is concerned. Nearly all had become unchaste, and enough of them to fill one cottage had been taken out of the redlight districts of cities. All are committed until twenty-one, unless sooner paroled or discharged, and are made ready for paroling and discharging as soon as possible. The Home occupies 116 acres of good land, upon which have been erected eight handsome cottages, an administration building, school house, hospital, and a chapel or general assembly room. The cottages cost about \$20,000 each, and each one accom-

modates from 45 to 70 girls. Each girl is given a room of her own and all are locked in at night by a mechanism, common to cell houses, whereby a whole line of rooms may be locked at one time, yet each one may be unlocked separately in case of need. This insures against running away and gives a girl time to herself to think things over.

The Personnel—The staff of officers and attendants is a strong one, and in its selection the superintendent is given full authority and held to a full responsibility. Each family has a matron and a housekeeper. There are a number of ordinary school teachers and several specially qualified industrial teachers, besides assistants, book-keepers, etc. All of these whom I met were ladies of evident high character and capacity, education and refinement.

The Saving Graces—In the first place, the girls are well classified, and each family is held pretty closely to itself. The little girls are separated out, the feeble-minded also (and there are some quite below the normal line), then those who had been prostitutes, and, finally, further classification is by temperament, behavior and age. This prevents undoing the good that is done.

The atmosphere of the place is one of industry. The girls are doing, or learning to do, most of the time. Their average age of admission is 15 years and their average school grade upon entering, the third. Hence there is a good deal of school work to be done and the completion of the fourth grade at least is exacted as a condition precedent to going out on parole. The educational equipment, however, carries those who can take it through the first year of the high school.

Cooking—The cooking school is an excellent feature and each girl takes a course requiring three and one half hours a day for four months for completion, after which the girl does cooking in her own family cottage

until utilization of the scientific knowledge she has gained becomes second nature to her. I have not seen a better or more intelligently equipped cooking class than this, and its results are of the greatest practical value.

Sewing—Plain sewing is another course which takes three and one half hours a day for six days in the week during a period of four months. Following this, for those who have ability to take it, is a course of similar duration in dress making, cutting and fitting. The naughty girls of Michigan have not their development hampered as have those of California by a foolish law prohibiting the making of officers' clothing or sewing for outside customers. All of the thirty-five officers have their clothes made by the dressmaking class, at cost, and, if this does not take up all the time, a limited number of orders are taken from the town of Adrian for the girls to practice on at about half the customary expert rates. By this means the salary of the teacher is paid and the girls earn a little something themselves. The time from 7 o'clock to 10:30 and from 1 to 4 is state time. Overtime work goes to the benefit of the girls, and they appreciate it.

Music—Music has an important place in the Michigan scheme of reformation. The school at Adrian has an orchestra and a band, and every girl capable of it has a chance to learn some real accomplishment. They are eager for this form of training and it stimulates them to efforts at self-improvement in other lines, for it gives them self-respect, the beginning of all good attainment.

Gardening—A good gardener is employed at Adrian, almost the only man on the place, unless it be the engineer and dairyman, whom I did not run across. Girls are taught to slip and bud, plant and propagate flowers of all kinds, and they have made the campus very bright and attractive. They show an eager spirit, and those who are the better for being out of doors are

encouraged to go out, under the care of the gardener, as much as possible.

Other Influences—The value of religious instruction is not overlooked, but it is not as much relied on as industry and the personalities of the officers and attendants, and for the reason that not many, at the beginning, seem capable of appreciating the value of the religious life. It is something that must be grown into. There is a good deal of concerted repetition of sound moralities, philosophies and resolutions, expressed in verse or proverbs, and the drilling of these into thoughtless heads exerts an influence by no means unimportant.

All things considered, I regard this as one of the most successful public institutions I visited while on my pilgrimage, and I believe that if California were to follow a similar policy it would achieve similar results.

CHAPTER XIII.

ILLINOIS TRAINING SCHOOL FOR GIRLS.

I wish I had the power and privilege of embellishing this volume just at this place with a finely engraved portrait of Mrs. Ophelia L. Amigh, superintendent of this school, and not only superintendent of the school but of her board of trustees and of several governors of Illinois, as well as innumerable politicians who would have thwarted her plans if she would have permitted them to do so. She is a materialization of feminine (not masculine), long-suffering, enduring, intelligent, hopeful, trustful determination to do the right thing herself and have the right thing done by others. She is sane, self-possessed, benignant, dignified, capable. She has a mind of her own without having a disagreeable temper. She is even diplomatic, but she is quite capable of facing any kind of opposition and fighting it to a finish without tears or fears. God has made here and there such a woman. They are to be had for superintendents of

girls' reform schools, and no reform school for girls will be successful that has not much such a woman at its head.

Cottage System—Mrs. Amigh has ten families of girls at the Industrial Training School, on the banks of Fox river at Geneva, a few hours' ride out of Chicago. The houses were not built for that, but she was determined to have classification and segregation, so she made the main building into flats and has a family in each flat. She tries to approximate as closely as possible to the private family, and therefore has no central laundry. Each family has its own laundry and does its washing by hand. It does all the rest of the work in much the same way. The purpose is to fit the girls mainly for domestic life on the farm, and they are taught to do those things that homes on the farms mainly require and by much the same system as would be followed in an ordinary farmer's family. Everything that looks like a frill is cut off.

The Plant—There are 91 acres of land in the industrial farm, and, after the plowing is done, quite a good deal of the cultivating is done by the girls. The head gardener is a woman and the girls grow all the vegetables required, and husk all the corn. Many of them come to the school run down in health and the outdoor work builds them up as nothing else could. More cottages and other buildings are needed, as there is a constant demand for the care of more than the 325 girls in the institution on the occasion of my visit. Illinois has not made nearly as good provision for its wayward girls as Michigan has, though the demand for their care is probably greater.

The School—As in all other institutions so far as I know, a half day is given to schooling and a half day to industrial work. Only three teachers are employed and the school is held in the congregate system. The majority of girls who come in are in the second or

third grades as classified in the public school system, and they are taken through the eighth grade if possible, but not all can go that far without staying too long. The aim is to make the girls fit for parole in two years and then to put them out to service in approved families.

The Utility of Play—Mrs. Amigh makes out-of-door play, basketball and baseball, etc., a means for growth in grace. Most of the girls, when they come to her, do not know how to play any sort of game that ever was, and the result is stupidity. A summer's course in physical play in the open air sharpens their wits as much as anything that can be done for the girls in her care.

Industries—These mainly consist in taking care of the homes of the different families and of the clothes of the girls. Dressmaking is taught by a special teacher, but there isn't any cooking school. The superintendent, wise as she is in most things, regards the cooking school as a fad. It isn't, and she is making a mistake. She does not do as much in the way of giving the girls accomplishments as is done in the Michigan school, which I think also a mistake, but on the whole Mrs. Amigh makes as few mistakes as any one I know in the work of reforming naughty girls, or boys either, and must be left to find her way to the better things by processes of her own. She will arrive if she lives long enough, for she is no back number or finished product.

Discipline—Mrs. Amigh's system of discipline consists first in a square deal all around, in uniform kindness and uniform firmness, in deprivation of privileges for minor offenses, in applications of the rubber shoe across the maternal knee when necessity requires, in a "strong room" in the basement where a refractory girl may spend a night or two in lonely contemplation, and in a boxed-in chair of meditation which leaves only the

head sticking out above the encompassing boards. Its monotony of position and loneliness of location are wonderfully argumentative for good behavior.

Little of System—If this institution had a more elaborated system of reformation it would furnish more to write about, but the more I have looked into the matter the less important system seems to me to be. If this institution had at its head a less marked and capable personality it would need more of system to save it from failure, but having Mrs. Ophelia Amigh it needs ever so little system for redeeming the redeemable to decent and useful life. I have no manner of doubt that her averages of reformation will range abreast of the best, but such things are difficult of being figured out in percentages. The public mind can grasp a percentage, or a per capita, easier than it can lay hold of a well-rounded fact, but the expert mind turns away from percentage columns with a tolerably well-founded incredulity.

It is worthy of note that two girls in this institution, working only a part of the time, with two knitting machines, costing \$24 each, make all the hosiery that the 325 girls require for summer and winter, and it took them only two or three days to learn to run the machines glibly.

CHAPTER XIV.

CONNECTICUT INDUSTRIAL SCHOOL FOR GIRLS.

This institution is at Middletown and enjoys a reputation in sociological circles second to none other in the country. On the day of my visit there were 279 girls in attendance. They are received between the ages of 8 and 16, to be retained under the guardianship of the institution until 21 years of age. The institution is conducted under the guidance of a self-perpetuating benevolent corporation, and, although the Governor,

Lieutenant-Governor and Secretary of State are on the board of managers, they are not in full control and the management of the school is entirely outside of political influence.

A Distinctive Feature—Connecticut is not satisfied with the mere task of undertaking to reform bad girls. It goes farther and undertakes to shelter those in danger of becoming bad, and therefore commits to the institution, not alone girls who have become unchaste and incorrigible, but also those who, by their ungoverned conduct and dangerous situation in life, are likely to become lewd and generally demoralized. As a result of this policy, of the 279 girls in the institution on the day of my visit, not more than forty had ever been unchaste. The rest were in danger and were taken in charge by the state after exhausting the powers and obligations of parental authority. This is about the wisest bit of preventive policy it was my good fortune to come across.

Classification—It is hardly necessary to say that such girls as had lived lewd lives were carefully separated from the others. They have one of the eight cottages to themselves, and 67 per cent of those of this class who have gone out from the institution have done, and are doing, well. The first classification separates from the rest such girls as are 8 to 12 years of age. Then there is a disciplinary cottage for those who are not readily governed. The unchaste, as above stated, are given a cottage to themselves. As for the remainder, they are distributed into families according to size, temperament and convenience of being disposed of.

The State Pays—The plant is the private property of the corporation, but for maintenance the state of Connecticut pays \$3.50 per week for each girl kept in the home. This supports them and just about keeps up repairs, without furnishing anything for improving the plant. This system is characteristic of Connecticut

benevolent institutions and is thought to work well, as it keeps the management outside of the baneful influence of political control. The girls are maintained in the school between three and four years.

Education—Good schools are maintained through the grammar grade. Eighty-five per cent of the girls admitted come in in the fifth grade or below, mainly in the second, third, and fourth grades. It is regrettable that instruction is not given in instrumental music, and that more attention is not given to affording girls some of those accomplishments which, though perhaps more showy than substantial, are ever so important to the self-respect and charm of a girl's life.

Industrial Life—The main effort is put upon preparation for domestic life. There is a good cooking school, and sewing is well taught, but not dressmaking. Laundry work and general housework are the staples. Some attention is also given to gardening and to the rearing of poultry with incubators and brooders. Considerable attention is given to fancy work, but the trend of industrial life and education is along so-called practical lines.

The Results—While it is difficult to estimate human attainment in percentages, yet, roughly speaking, 91 per cent of those who have gone out from the institution have so conducted themselves as to be entitled to favorable mention. Sixty per cent have gone back to their own people. The others have been provided with homes and fair wages and are visited by the institution visitor, and also by a visitor commissioned by the State Board of Charities and Corrections. It should be mentioned here, however, that the institution does not admit girls who have been confirmed prostitutes.

Some Causes—Of the causes of lewdness the main one has been a slipping of the feet under temptation that was too strong, but not because of innate depravity.

If not taken in hand very soon these are likely to progress into common women of the community, if not habitues of some redlight district, and also to acquire the drinking habit. Of all difficult cases to reform the girl who has the drinking habit is the hardest. There is a small class of wayward girlhood born with evil tendencies, but these tendencies may be outgrown and overcome under proper treatment if the drink habit be not added thereto. Finally, the next most numerous class is made up of those who have bad fathers and mothers and therefore are without standards of morality of any sort. Their condition is deplorable. And yet, as above stated, 67 per cent of all lewd girls, without regard to causes, have, in the course of the last nineteen years, been redeemed to useful and virtuous life.

A Man at the Head—This reform school for girls is successful notwithstanding the fact that it has a man at its head. It were nearer right to say that it has the Fairbank family, for Mr. and Mrs. Fairbank and their son are all employed in the institution. Mrs. Fairbank is perhaps as much a factor in the management as her husband. She maintains a most constant and intimate personal relation with the girls and is about as much a mother to them as she could be were she in sole charge. Besides, Mr. Fairbank is a most exceptional man, and he has devoted a lifetime to the work of saving bad boys and girls to useful life. The fact that he and his wife have made a success of girl-saving does not warrant the conclusion that it is not, in the main, better to have such an institution in the charge of a capable woman.

CHAPTER XV.

NEW YORK JUVENILE ASYLUM.

This institution, and the one mentioned in the next chapter, partake of the nature of a reform school and of an orphanage, performing a dual, and therefore doubly valuable, service. The institution is over fifty years old, and through its portals have gone out into the world, the better for its ministrations, full forty thousand young persons. It is not a state institution, nor yet metropolitan, but it does a much needed work for the great city of New York and is mainly sustained by allowances from New York city's treasury. It receives \$104 per year for each child under six years of age and \$110 for each child over six maintained, and \$15 per year in addition for educational work.

The Perfected Cottage Plan—Until within the last two years this institution was in New York city, but it has recently moved out to a splendid table-land location on one of the fine old estates bordering the Hudson, at Dobb's Ferry, where it has acquired 290 acres of land admirably situated. In New York the institution was conducted on the congregate system. Out here it is inaugurating an ideal cottage system, or the cottage system carried to its last analysis, and for this reason it is especially worthy of consideration.

Each cottage is costing about \$16,000 and furnishes a home for twenty children, the boys in one part of the tract and the girls in another, the whole having been laid out admirably by a landscape gardener. Each alternate cottage will be supplied with a dormitory in which all the children will sleep, and each alternately with twenty single rooms for honor children who have earned the right to be in the first grade as to behavior. I do not know any other institution where it has been attempted to give children separate rooms, except at

the George Junior Republic, where each citizen must rent a room in a republic lodging-house or lodge in jail. And I do not know any other institution where as few as twenty children are assigned to one cottage. The general rule is to have thirty to the cottage. This makes the per capita cost of housing \$800 per child, which is pretty high for a benevolent institution to be erected by benevolence, but it is expected that there will be no trouble in securing memorial donations of special cottages enough to meet all requirements.

At the time of my visit only sixteen cottages were in commission, but the intent is to push the building as rapidly as possible, for the institution is not carrying the load it formerly carried and the deficiency is felt in New York. It used to care for a thousand children and, come to cut the number down to 300, it throws a heavy burden upon other institutions, especially the Catholic Protectory at Westchester.

In the cases of the smaller children one house mother to the cottage is thought to be sufficient, but with the larger ones there is a house master and mother, man and wife, the children doing most of the labor except the cooking and laundry work. The cooking is done at central stations and the food is carried to the several cottages to be served. This will have the advantage of cheapness, but the disadvantage of not bringing the children into the mysteries of family cooking. This is the only concession to the congregate idea that I noticed.

Bound for the West—About 125 children are annually sent west and placed in families. These include those who are free and fit to go. If they are not fit they are made fit if surgical and medical skill can make them so, but of that elsewhere. The children sent west are placed and looked after by the Children's Home Society of Chicago, under the direction of Dr. Hastings H. Hart, and with entire satisfaction. Something further will also be said of this elsewhere.

All Children Committed—This institution does not accept children unless the fact of dependency has been judicially determined, which prevents a great deal of imposition upon public bounty; but not all children are committed to this institution because of being dependent. New York does not confine its interest in childhood, as does California, to orphans, half orphans and abandoned children. It takes in charge those who have no proper guardianship even if they have both parents living, and does it to prevent their growing up to be criminals. It is cheaper to handle them as children than as adult criminals.

Children are also committed for being delinquent. This would seem to make the school consist of three classes of children—the dependent, the delinquent, and those likely to become dependent and delinquent through having no proper guardianship—but as a matter of cold fact and common experience they are all the same sort of children, are more or less dependent, more or less delinquent and are more or less without proper guardianship. It is perfectly safe to congregate them so far as these attributes are concerned, but they require careful separation on moral, intellectual and other grounds.

The Mill System—As a disciplinary agent what is known as the mill system of reward is maintained at this institution, as it is also at Lyman School. A child is allowed a credit of 2 mills a day for good work in school, 2 mills for good work in the industrial department, 4 mills for proper behavior in the cottage and 2 mills for personal appearance. This makes a total of 10 mills, or one cent for each day, or \$3.65 for a year. To make it seem more important the accounts are kept in money ten times as valuable, and is banked and checked out on that basis, but come to exchange it into the currency of the country, it takes ten cents of juvenile money to be worth one cent of real money to spend. Whatever it is, the child can have his balance

at proper times to spend for what he wants. It gives an idea of accounts and works well in stimulating good behavior.

The Net Results—Space will not permit going into further detail. Of the 40,000 children who have passed through the institution during the last fifty years, 33,000 went back to parents and relatives, over 6,500 have been placed in western homes and some 460 others are still under the jurisdiction of the institution but are in western homes. Hereditary criminality has developed in only about 2½ per cent of the children cared for. Between 94 and 95 per cent were sent to the institution because of no proper training at home. The average stay in the institution is twenty-one months.

The Future—This will one day be a great institution. When its sixteen cottages shall have been increased to fifty, and other accessories in proportion, it will be something worth careful study. Mr. C. D. Hilles, its present superintendent, is far-seeing and liberal-minded and I do not doubt that his own growth will keep pace with the growth of the institution. Of the children who have gone out during his four years of service only 5 to 8 per cent have been sent back as being unfit to stay out. This is certainly a good record for slum children of Greater New York.

CHAPTER XVI.

CATHOLIC PROTECTORY AT WESTCHESTER.

This institution is of interest for many reasons, but perhaps for none more than its being a frank illustration of the congregate system of caring for dependents and delinquents, most of the dependents being delinquents and most of the delinquents being more or less dependent. Here, on the day of my visit, were 2621 children of both sexes. The girls to the number of 600

or more, and about 200 small boys, were in the hands of the sisters in an auxiliary institution at a little distance, but on the same farm of 150 acres. All the rest were in the male department and classified as well as possible as to age, size and attainment. The male department is in the hands of the Christian Brotherhood, of which organization there were 75 brothers engaged in the work. The girls and little boys require the care of 45 sisters.

Plenty of Playgrounds—Long before the beginning of the children's playground idea this institution had established five large playgrounds for the boys and two for the girls, and they are as much regarded as elements of growth in grace and understanding as any other department of the institution. The children are all given plenty of time for play in the open air and their play is encouraged, but it is also supervised to see that there is fair play and fair treatment. By having so many playgrounds, and by dividing the players into details, a good degree of segregation is maintained even in a congregate system.

The School—This is a most important feature, for almost if not quite half of the boys sent to the Protectory are upon their arrival unable to read or write. They come from the more squalid sections of New York and have been almost wholly neglected, and every effort is made to interest them in the common branches. By dividing the time between study, play and industrial effort fatigue is prevented in any department and interest is the more easily stimulated and maintained. These Christian Brothers are indeed very close to the elemental problem of primitive humanity, and the atmosphere seemed to me to be one of intelligent and enduring effort if not exactly of a buoyant and boundless enthusiasm. The belief in an innate depravity seems to detract something from the spirit of hopefulness with which those who do not share that belief are able to sustain themselves.

Industrial Training—I don't know how many trades, or parts of trades, are taught at the Catholic Protectory, but certainly a good many. The institution is neither a factory nor a trade school, strictly speaking, but the management manages to get about two hours of deft finger work out of each of its inmates in the course of each working day. Those who remain long enough get well on toward a completed apprenticeship, and those who do not at least learn to handle themselves and learn how to do some useful thing fairly well. At any rate the lads become habituated to the idea that this is a world of work, and most of them become reconciled to it.

American Sloyd—This is a leading feature in the education of a good portion of the boys, and not a few of them discover themselves while in that department. I was not so favorably impressed with the models used, or with their progressive character, but methods are not so important as results, and of the results there can be no question. As stated above, many a lad has found himself there.

Domestic Art and Science—The sisters are doing fully as much for the girls as the brothers are for the boys. They have good cooking and sewing schools, and plenty of housekeeping to keep the girls busy when they are not at their studies or taking their religious instruction, a regular feature in both departments.

Music—Instrumental music and, I believe, vocal also, are given good places in the course of instruction, and a fine band and orchestra are maintained. One secret of reforming a bad child is to find out if possible what good thing that child likes to do, and then use that as a handle with which to lay hold of the rest of the child. I think that the Catholic brothers and sisters have grasped this idea more fully than many Protestant workers in the same cause. It is a valuable and tactful aid.

Institutionalization—Rather more, on the whole, is made of the quality of institutionalization than the facts warrant, but there is such a thing. It is not wholly bad or wholly good, but a little of it can not be very bad and may be very good. In the cases of these boys and girls from the slums of New York it is about their first need. They have been individualized to the point of savagery. To round them up and band them together under company discipline is what they need most, and if they are not too long under that system they will gain much good and little evil from it. It will change them from anti-social to more or less social beings, and the older ones rarely remain longer than a year, or at most two years, at the Protectory. This stay under such conditions can not hurt them.

Paroled and Placed Out—Nearly all the boys have relatives willing enough to take them back and find homes for them when they are big enough to work, have been weaned from their evil practices and are able to earn something, so most of the discharges are to relatives. But there remain quite a number for whom homes must be found, and this work is done by Brother Barnabas, whom I was so unfortunate as not to see. He tries to place his charges on farms out in the state of New York, but those who are not fitted for this are brought into the city and work found for them there.

St. Philip's Home—This brings me to this institution, also under the care of Brother Barnabas, who has fitted up a four-story building for a hotel for working boys. It is made as homelike as possible, with a chapel and reading-rooms and comfortable dormitories, and here he tucks the recently paroled lads under his fatherly wing and finds work for them and keeps in touch with them until they have risen high enough on the industrial ladder to become fully self-sustaining, when they must give place to more recruits on the waiting list.

Looking for a Farm—The plant at Westchester is too great to be cast aside. The improvements on the ground cost \$1,500,000. Nevertheless, the directors are looking for a farm, which can be used as an auxiliary if not as a substitute for the Protectory as it now is. I think that if they could find something like Father Crowley's farm at Rutherford it would be about what they are looking for, but where outside of California can such a property as that be found?

CHAPTER XVII.

THE DEPENDENT CHILD.

In the final analysis the state is the ultimate guardian of every child in the state. In fact, the state is the ultimate guardian of every person in the state, old or young. The state may take any of us and put us into its army to be shot at or wherever it has use for us. The individual exists for the whole as he does also for the existence of the species. As a matter of sound policy, therefore, society permits parents to enjoy their own children and be responsible for them, as it also permits individuals to enjoy individual liberty of going and coming, planning and doing, but if an occasion arises where state authority must interfere in order to preserve its own welfare the right to do so can not be questioned.

Now with this right of a state goes the duty on the part of the state to exercise that right when the common welfare requires it. These conclusions are elemental, and it would be a good thing if they were to so sink into the public consciousness as to be productive of many good things to children whose parents neglect or inadequately provide for and educate them. Many parents suppose that their children are their own to do what they are of a mind to with, and that it is nobody's business but their own what they do with them. They are mistaken. It is everybody's business.

What Is a Dependent Child?—A dependent child is one who has no proper person to take proper care of it. California recognizes only three classes of these as being entitled to state protection—the whole orphan, the half orphan and the abandoned child. This leaves quite a number to be looked out for as best they may be, without state interest being manifested. Most eastern states make no such distinctions. They regard any child as a proper subject for state care if it be in fact dependent, no matter what the cause of dependency. There are children with both parents living who are just as dependent as other children who have no parents living. Parents who are of no account are no better than dead parents.

Indeterminate Dependency—Dependency is not often complete and permanent. Even a whole orphan generally has relatives who will lay claim to it when it is old enough to have an earning capacity, but who do not want to be burdened with it so long as it is a burden. Some states compel grandparents, brothers and sisters to take care of dependent children by suits at law. This policy greatly lightens the public burden, but leaves the welfare of the child open to serious question. The unwelcome child is not likely to be a coddled child, and any policy that does not look first of all to the welfare of the child is not a true policy.

The Half Orphan—Then there are many dependent children who require to be tided over a period of adversity until a surviving parent can develop an earning capacity sufficient to warrant the reassumption of parental obligation. This is the case with the larger part of the children whom the State of California is helping to support. In no case should this support be extended after the surviving parent has become able to support such child, but it is through the abuse of this right of the child that California is put to its heaviest expense. Indigency should be the basis of state aid in all cases where parents are morally fit to have custody

of their children. Where they are not their children should be taken from them utterly—after exhaustion of a probationary interval. Many a delinquent parent has been redeemed to right living through a threatened deprivation of children.

The Abandoned Child—California suffers great imposition through a too liberal construction of the term “abandoned child.” It has probably sustained thousands of children during past years who were in no proper sense abandoned, but only shirked. They were sent to orphanages to be cared for when little, but were reclaimed as soon as big enough to have an earning capacity.

The word “abandoned” in its legal sense is precisely what its meaning is as given in the dictionary. It is a child whose unnatural parents have gone off and left it for a period of one year without making provision for its support. If they have done this they have lost all legal claim to and right over the child and should be permitted to have no more to do with it than with the child of a stranger, but lack of a judicial determination of the fact of abandonment, and a systemless system of discharging the state’s duty to the child, have permitted unnatural and irresponsible parents to reclaim children whose support they had abandoned.

Obliging orphanages have received visits, and small contributions, at intervals, from parents of children whom they have steadily reported to the state as abandoned and for whose support they have unhesitatingly drawn \$75 per year each from the state treasury. By this means, mendicancy has been promoted and the state mulcted to the extent of tens of thousands of dollars since the present method of extending state aid to dependent childhood was put into operation. The only complete remedy for this abuse, which has been the result of lax methods and not of deliberate intent to defraud, lies in having the fact of dependency judicially established.

Dependency Judicially Determined—In most eastern states the fact of dependency is judicially established if the state is to bear any part of the cost of maintaining a dependent child. If the local town, or township as we would call it, is to bear the cost the selectmen may determine the fact of dependency, or if the county is to do it, then the supervisors of such county, or else the superintendent of the poor, may make the investigation and determine the fact. In all cases, I think, the body politic and corporate that is to bear the expense determines the fact of dependency, the court representing the interests of the commonwealth.

In California it is different. The forty-four orphanages practically determine the fact of dependency for those for whom they care, and the boards of supervisors of the several counties determine the fact for those to whom they grant outside relief, passing the bill up to the state to be repaid. This system does not conduce to economy or equality in the disposition of the state dependent children's fund, and there is need for a judicial determination of all dependency for whose relief the state treasury is to be drawn upon. The present system tends to create more mendicancy than can be remedied by state bounty.

Law Liberally Construed—The State Board of Examiners, which audits the claims made against the State Dependent Child Fund, has been humanely liberal in its interpretation of the law. For instance, it has classed as half orphans children in indigent circumstances one of whose parents is confined in one of the state's prisons or asylums for the insane during such confinement. There may not be any specific law for this, but the necessities of children have seemed to require it and in allowing it the quality of mercy has not been strained.

Extend the Juvenile Court System—California has an excellent juvenile court system, on paper, and it is working admirably in fact where adequate machinery

is supplied for making it effective, but, as is the case in many other instances, the state falls short, if it does not fall down, in the attempt to execute its own laws. Under the juvenile court law as it stands Los Angeles is the only county supplied with a probation officer paid from the public treasury to aid the juvenile court in carrying into effect the laws regarding juvenile dependents and delinquents, whereas every county in the state needs the services of a probation officer and most counties need to have their probation officers paid.

In order to make the juvenile court law effective there is a deal of work for a probation officer to do—much more work than citizens generally can afford to perform without being compensated reasonably for the time devoted to that most important service. The present method of selecting probation officers insures that such selection shall be kept entirely outside of political influence. All that is required is to make provision for paying the probation officers, such a sum as shall be reasonable under the circumstances controlling the work in each county, to put California on a parity with any state in the Union with regard to its care for dependent and delinquent childhood.

Were the fact of dependency established by the juvenile court, sitting only as a juvenile court as the law specifically provides, and by and with the aid of the probation officer charged with the duty of making all needed investigations into essential facts for the wise guidance of the court, no taint of pauperism need attach to the child beyond what is inseparable from every case of public aid extended to private persons. The court will sit as the state's authorized guardian of every child found in need of protection by the sheltering arms of the state, and the probation officer will be the instrument of the juvenile court for carrying out the directions of the guardian regarding the care of the state's dependent wards. It will be a parental rather than a judicial relation subsisting between court and child and splendidly calculated to

save the child from harm and the commonwealth from imposition.

It is not so much more law that California needs in this particular as greater efficiency in putting the law into execution.

CHAPTER XVIII.

WHAT CALIFORNIA IS DOING FOR DEPENDENT CHILDREN.

There is a prevailing impression that dependent childhood costs California a great deal more in proportion to population than it costs other states. It does cost the state more, but it probably costs the taxpayers less. In California dependent childhood is mainly a state problem, as it should be. In most eastern states it is a problem that confronts the taxpayer at every turn through township, county, city and state. I found no eastern state that cares for what children are cared for by the state as cheaply per child as California cares for her dependent children.

State care is preferable to township or county care, because the interests of the child are better protected. The dollar held up immediately before the eye of the local taxpayer prevents his looking adown the vista of time and seeing the future of the child as a public problem. Per contra, a State Board of Charities and Corrections, to whose charge this problem is in the East mainly entrusted, remembers that the criminal of the future is the child of to-day, and so concerns itself with the ultimate consequences of a care-taking policy more than with the dollar of immediate cost.

Number of Children Cared For—For the fiscal year ending June 30, 1905, there were 7301 children who received state aid at some time during the year. Of these, 5283 were being maintained in the forty-four existing orphanages and 2018 were aided through the

boards of supervisors of the several counties. It is worth while to note that the forty-four orphanages together maintained 1230 other children for whose care they received no state aid whatever.

Cost to the Orphanages—From the best figures that the State Board of Examiners could obtain from reports made to them the average cost to the institutions maintaining these children, for the half year ending June 30, 1905, was \$53.05 per child. The state's average share of this burden was \$32.57 per child. Of course some orphanages maintain a higher standard of living than others, but it may be doubted if any orphanage in California receives more from the state than is required for the immediate care and feeding of the children in its charge. The conducting of an orphanage can not, so far as state aid is concerned, be regarded as a gainful pursuit. If there be profit in it it must be because of the opportunity offered for soliciting funds outside. A better degree of state supervision would prevent this abuse, as the exactions of a charities' indorsement committee in San Francisco have already shut out some such candidates for charities. The benevolent public needs protection from imposition, but I do not know any one of the forty-four existing orphanages that has not a bona fide need for aid far beyond that extended by the state.

The Help Employed—There were 519 persons employed at some time during the year in the care of the children mentioned in the paragraph next but one above, besides 198 other persons who gave their time and labor without recompense. The total salaries paid during the half year amounted to \$87,119.66, or about \$28 per month each. The ratio on paper is one caretaker to each nine children, but this includes all manner of workers, including care of land and garden, many of whom were on the payroll for a short time only. The real ratio of care-takers to children would come nearer being one to fifteen.

What They Cost the State—For the fiscal year ending June 30, 1905, the State Treasurer cashed warrants issued to the forty-four orphanages in the aggregate sum of \$337,459.07. The further sum of \$96,242.34 was paid to the several counties of the state for the support of children aided in the homes of their surviving parents. This makes a grand total of \$433,701.41 as the annual expense of dependent childhood to the taxpayers of California.

It is worthy of note that the sum above mentioned as having been paid to the forty-four orphanages (\$337,459.07) is, on an average, about \$30,000 less than has been annually paid to them during a number of years previous to the incoming of the present state administration. A closer surveillance, and a somewhat more strict interpretation of the law, have resulted in important economies without inflicting hardship upon any child entitled by law to state aid.

There is, however, a tendency for the outside aid extended through boards of supervisors to increase in numbers of children aided and expense passed up to the state for reimbursement. This aid in the home of the surviving and worthy parent is the best form of aid that can be extended, but whatever aid is extended in such cases should be based on the principle of "as much as is needed and no more, as long as needed and no longer," for the prevention of hardship to the child.

Again, a judicial determination of the fact of dependency, and a judicial fixing of the degree of dependency also, would work hardship to no one and prove a just economy to the state. It is not the state policy regarding dependent childhood that needs to be reformed so much as the method of executing that policy.

The California Idea—Whatever else may be said in criticism of the California policy of caring for dependent children it can not be charged with the inhumanity of breaking up and scattering to the four winds of

heaven the children of dependent parents who have committed no offense other than that of poverty. In most of the states of the east that I visited this is done in the interests of economy, but not in the interests of humanity. Eastern states in general say to the widowed mother, in effect, "Very well, madam, if you can not support your children we will take them from you and parcel them out to persons who can support them, but they will be no longer your children. They will be adopted by others and will become their children as much as though they had been born to them."

California says to such an unfortunate woman, "Madam, the state sympathizes with you in your distress and is ready and willing to help you reasonably. You may place your children in the orphanage of your choice and leave them there, visiting them meantime on proper occasions, until you can develop an earning capacity which will enable you to get them under a roof of your own providing. Or you may remain under your own roof, if you have one, and through your local board of supervisors receive as much state aid for the support of your half-orphan children as you need and no more, provided that it does not exceed \$75 per year, and you may receive that aid as long as you need it, but no longer. You may thus keep your family together without grave hardship and your children shall belong to you and not be given to a stranger."

The heart of California is right, and it is better that it submit to some imposition than that, in the name of fiscal economy, it steel its heart against the fundamental promptings of parental affection.

Where Economies are Possible—The writer ventures the estimate, more from results of observation and inquiry than from statistical or other information obtainable, that as many as one-fifth of the state-aided children would be taken off the list under a system of judicial determination of the fact of dependency such as was suggested in the previous chapter. The juvenile

court, aided by the efforts of a paid probation officer, would be able so to enforce parental responsibility that one-fifth of the children now hustled off to orphanages, or put on the indigent list by supervisors, would be supported in their own homes and sent to school. This would save California somewhere between \$75,000 and \$100,000 a year, and the children, the orphanages, and the delinquent or careless parents themselves, would be the better for the efficient practice of this economy.

Another economy of equal importance will be suggested in the chapter devoted to Placing Out.

CHAPTER XIX.

THE FOUNDLING.

It makes a world of difference whether or not one's point of view of a social problem be at its vortex or out on the circumference. To the matron in charge of a lying-in hospital in a great city it looks as though chastity were unknown and fidelity to the marriage relation were an iridescent dream. Such an one forgets that of every hundred persons who enter the holy bonds of matrimony, for better or worse, a vast majority hold themselves sacred to their marriage vows until separated by death. So, also, it is about as hard for those upon the outer edge of the problem of social purity to comprehend the stupendous problem of illegitimacy as seen at the vortex. It is a very real problem and one whose consideration society should not shun. Illegitimacy, in America, may not assume startling proportions when expressed in comparative percentages, but, when compared with the intelligent provision made for it it becomes a very serious problem and seems likely to continue to be so. The elemental promptings of sex emotion are likely to go on producing their illegitimate results to the end of time.

A Few Fallacies Dispelled—It is commonly supposed that illegitimate children, mainly classed as "foundlings" when they come into public custody, are badly born, likely to be diseased, and better off dead than alive. This is exceptionally, but not at all generally, true. Some there are who come into the world diseased beyond redemption, and most of these do die, in spite of all that can be done for them, within the first six months of their lives, but by far the greater number of foundlings are as healthy as other children. The women of the redlight districts are mainly sterile and add few to the ranks of illegitimacy. Nor are these babes the product of the baser forms of criminality, which are not so much given to seduction as to patronage of brothels.

The stream of foundlings pours out of the homes of the people, their mothers being, for the most part, giddy, untrained girls still in their "teens," and their fathers either youths of their own age or, more often, employers, men with families, men of mature physique but with crippled consciences. Not a few are really love children, born outside of wedlock, but inside of a real and true affection which some barrier prevents culminating in marriage. If given a good start these little people, who are not at all to blame for their unconventional advent, develop into surprisingly beautiful and intelligent children. Is it necessary to social preservation that they must ever walk in the shadow of the sin of parents to them unknown?

Mortality Among Foundlings—The social problem of the disposition of foundlings has, so far as it became related to institutional life, been well nigh eliminated by the atrocious percentages of mortality. Tewksbury almshouse in Massachusetts lost 98 per cent of these little people year after year, and yet science and nursing did about as well as it knew how to preserve them alive. The best foundling hospitals in the east have, until recent years, lost 85 to 90 per cent of their

charges. The asylums in San Francisco have lost somewhere between 50 and 75 per cent, and are still losing nearly as many. Those in charge do the best they can under the circumstances, but the circumstances have no business to be what they are and have been. Circumstances have been guilty of nothing less than manslaughter and they have been clearly remediable.

Babies simply can not be brought up on bottles, herded together in groups of ten or a dozen, and with no more individual attention than consists in being given the bottle at stated intervals and having their diapers changed. A baby suffered to lie on its back hour after hour and day after day without being taken in arms, talked to and moved about, will die or, if it survive, will be as stupid as a knot on a log. The intelligence of the human race is dependent upon the start which a mother's tireless baby talk and chuckling afford.

The Law at Fault—The California statute in such cases made and provided allows \$12.50 per month for the maintenance of every foundling maintained "in" an institution during the first eighteen months of its life. But if it be maintained in an institution it is likely to die. The present State Board of Examiners has graciously construed that word "in" to mean "by" until such time as the legislature can change it so as to permit of these little people being boarded out, not more than two in a place, with motherly women who have had experience in bringing up babies, to be watched and cared for by the physician attending upon the institution. This is a good way of taking care of foundlings until they have reached the age when they can eat soft foods and are no longer dependent upon bottles that, very likely, are supplied with drugged milk that some assassin of a milk-dealer has provided. Massachusetts now boards out all of its foundlings, but the mortality is still great where the bottle must be depended on.

Mothers' Milk the True Elixir of Life—It has been found, however, that the only sure way to get the foundling over the first six months of its life, the crucial period, is to give it the breast. In the lying-in hospitals this is attained partly by requiring mothers about to be confined to agree to remain a year, if possible, and those who are strong enough are required to nurse another baby besides their own, giving each one side of the breast and supplementing with one or more milk feeds for both babies each day. This works admirably so far as that source of supply can be made to go, but it does not go far enough to cover all of the basket babies left at the doors of these institutions.

Italian Women to the Rescue—The heavy work that used to be done by Irishmen in this country, such as sewer construction and railroad building and street work, is now being done mainly by Italians. These Italian workmen are frequently if not always accompanied to this country by their wives. Through a most unfortunate superstition many of these Italian women will not employ physicians during confinement, but trust to the unskilled offices of ignorant old midwives who deliver something like two-fifths of the infants of these working-class women stillborn. The discovery of this fact has, in New York city, resulted in the developing of a remunerative and thoroughly humane system of putting foundlings out to be nursed by these unfortunate mothers. They receive \$8 to \$10 per month and, no matter how lowly may be their own standard of living, their babies thrive. These women live on a vegetable diet, their milk is rich, and, even in a squalid home, the baby is all right. Inasmuch as these workers are scattered all over the country it will be worth while for those having foundlings in their charge to exhaust this source of life preservation before folding the hands in the comforting assurance that, "The Lord giveth and the Lord taketh away."

CHAPTER XX.

REMEDIAL DEFICIENCIES OF CHILDREN.

The New York Foundling Hospital (Catholic) is doing a work in rectifying the remediable defects of childhood that all the world should copy. It has the handling of perhaps 1500 illegitimate and foundling children each year, and instead of placing them out as soon as possible, in whatever condition they may be, all of the remediable defects of childhood are remedied before the little people pass from under their custody. It is a beautiful work, beautifully done, with the result that they have many hundreds of beautiful children to be placed in approved homes.

To do this a hospital is maintained which has at its disposal some of the best surgical skill the great city can supply. Bow legs and knock-knees are made straight by breaking and resetting. Crossed eyes are coaxed back into line with spectacles or, if too crooked, are straightened by an operation. Irregular teeth are put in order, adenoid growths are removed from the air passages, and all things possible are done to give their little charges a fair chance in life's race for the best places. I want everybody's children as well looked out for as nobody's children. The thing is possible and practical.

The Handicap of Infirmary—There is no handicap to carry through life like the consciousness of inferiority. It discounts all the opportunities of life from the start. More than this, it lays the foundation for a life of criminality. Professor Frank Lydston in his "Diseases of Society" declares: "The nearer we get to the marrow of criminality, the more closely it approximates pathology. The questions of physique, education and surroundings of children are the warp and woof of the fabric of the prevention of crime. The child criminal is something of which civilization should be ashamed."

Of 100 children received at the New York Juvenile Asylum, 94 had defective teeth, 15 of these had teeth that were in process of decay and one boy had already lost four teeth. Now the condition of the teeth has an influence upon the behavior, if not upon the actual criminality, of the child. Defective teeth cause fermentation, inability to grind the food properly causes indigestion, indigestion causes malnutrition, and malnutrition is the greatest known cause of criminality among children because it leaves their brains as defective as their bodies. Of 1000 delinquent children examined by this institution 65 per cent were found to be suffering from malnutrition. A weakened brain is attended with a weakened conscience and a weakened understanding of the consequences of conduct.

The Remedy—The children in the institutions of California are inadequately safeguarded against those remediable deficiencies which are so likely to fasten upon childhood, but so are the children outside of institutional life. Their welfare is of concern to the state for the reason that the defective child of to-day is not unlikely to become the criminal of a few years hence. It would be profitable for some department of state government, perhaps the State Board of Health, to put into the field a number of skilled diagnosticians of diseases common to childhood, to visit all of the institutions of the state where there are children, including the public schools, for the purpose of making such examinations as may be required and informing parents and teachers of such defects as may exist, with directions as to how they may be remedied. The ordinary practitioner does not always detect defects that an expert will perceive at a glance, but however that may be, parents are wonderfully blind to the existence of such deficiencies. So much of this work as is educational the state can well afford to do, that it may decrease crime and pauperism likely otherwise to result later in life from disorders which will have come to be

irremediable handicaps to a proper physical and mental development.

A State Hospital—At least Iowa, Michigan and Massachusetts maintain state hospitals for remedying the deficiencies of such children as have become wards of the state, and every child whose parents are pecuniarily unable to send a defective child to a hospital should become a ward of the state to that extent. It would not be very costly or at all out of place to have such a hospital connected with the medical department of the State University. It would not need to be a large one or expensive to maintain, and it might easily be able to pay for itself over and over again every year by giving the defective childhood of the state a chance to develop into a well-nourished and symmetrically formed manhood and womanhood.

I am quite sure that I have seen more mouth-breathers and more cross-eyed children in some single orphanages in California than I have seen in all the orphanages visited throughout the east, put them all together. The state will do well to look more closely to its own. Crime and pauperism are heavy burdens, and are more easily lightened at the start than at the finish.

CHAPTER XXI.

SOME THINGS ABOUT ORPHANAGES.

California has no state orphanage and there is only one county orphanage in the state, and that is at Fresno. The other forty-three orphanages are benevolent institutions created and controlled either by some church or some charitable organization. Fifteen of the orphanages, and quite the largest ones, are owned and controlled by the Catholic Church, the remainder of the forty-three are either Protestant or belong to benevolent orders, such as the Odd Fellows or the Good Templars. The state has not found it necessary to

construct and maintain any orphanages on public account, and certain it is that it could not undertake the work nearly so cheaply as it is done now and it is open to doubt if it would be as well done as under existing conditions.

The Proper Function of an Orphanage—There are those who decry orphanages as if they were a superfluity for which society has, or should have, no use. Such is not the fact. No matter how far the systems of placing out and boarding out may be carried, as in Massachusetts and Pennsylvania, there will still be a large percentage of dependent children who must be cared for in an orphanage or go uncared for altogether. There are scores of such institutions in Massachusetts and Pennsylvania, although not under state control or receiving state aid. They perform their useful service none the less.

The Highest Use—The highest use an orphanage can perform is to take care of the children of the worthy poor until they can tide over a period of adversity and get once more upon a self-sustaining basis. This is the principal service that the orphanages of California are performing. I have not reliable statistics from California orphanages covering this feature of their work, but of the 40,000 children which the Juvenile Asylum of New York has cared for during the last fifty years 33,000 went back to their own families. I think that this percentage will hold good in nearly if not quite all cases. The average stay of a half orphan in a California orphanage, as nearly as I can approximate it, is between two and three years, when the widowed mother or the surviving father marries again, and the child is again taken under a parental roof. This is a work of the highest benevolence and, for the most part, is performed in good faith and with credit to the institutions rendering that service.

Taking Care of the Unattractive—The second highest function performed by orphanages is the taking care of unattractive children, who have no one to take care of them, until they can be made capable of taking care of themselves. State aid ceases at 14, the most vulnerable age of a child's life, but many of the orphanages hold on to their charges of this class long after that and until they can be placed in good homes at wages. It is not improbable that there may be 1000 unattractive children being cared for in California orphanages at the present time.

To be Straightened Up—A third valuable use an orphanage can perform for the public is to receive children from the streets, untrained and in poor physical condition, and rough-break them, as they say of young colts only partially trained to harness, remedy their physical defects and so make them fit to be placed in homes to be reared as own children. This service is being performed to some advantage already, but might be to much greater if some of the suggestions made in the preceding chapter, whereby the state might aid in the work, were put into effective operation. They need help on the medical and surgical side of the question.

Institutionalism—But the best orphanage that ever was is not as good a place for the rearing of a child as an ordinarily good American home. The best the orphanage people can do, whether their institution be conducted under the congregate or the cottage plan, the child brought up in an institution will inevitably lose much that goes toward the making of an independent and self-reliant personality. The child will be an incubator chicken instead of a chicken that the old hen has raised. Any one who has managed an incubator will know what this illustration signifies. An incubator chicken hasn't a "lick" of worldly wisdom, and neither has the institutional child.

A Little of it Good—A little of institutionalism is not a bad thing, especially for a child that has been a bit of a delinquent, as most dependent children have been. Having, up to that time, been excessively individualistic, a few months, or a year or so, of communistic life is not at all bad for them. Besides, if the marching and the uniform were subtracted from the "institutionalism" those who find institutionalism such a bugaboo would be much at ease. The marching is the most orderly, and quite the best, method of going and coming, and the uniform is the cheapest way of dressing, and has the further merit of being the most equal and therefore affording the least ground for suspected discriminations and consequent heart-burnings. The real objections to institutionalism lie deeper than marchings and uniforms. They lie in the assimilation of the individual to the mass.

Benevolent and Malevolent Assimilation—There are these two kinds of assimilation. The bad urchin brought into a well-regulated institution of reasonably good children does not, as popularly supposed, immediately proceed to corrupt the mass. He is assimilated to it and not it to him, and he is benefited; but the child that has something better in him than the common herd can boast is also assimilated, and malevolently. He loses the greater part of his identity and power of independent self-direction and is not likely ever to regain it if brought to maturity in such an institution.

The Cottage Plan—The cottage system of maintaining orphanages lessens the evils of institutionalism, but can not wholly overcome them. The masses are smaller and the assimilations less complete. The masses are also graded into classes, and the assimilations are, accordingly, to the class rather than to the mass; but the best that can be done does not more than approximate, under the cottage system, the condition of the home where children see more of adult life, and are

influenced powerfully by it, and where they are inevitably thrown more upon their own resources.

The Cottage Plan More Costly—The cottage plan of maintaining an orphanage is more costly than the congregate system, because of the increased cost of superintendence. The New York Juvenile Asylum, described in a chapter devoted to it, may be taken as the best model of a cottage system this country has to offer. There the per capita cost per year is \$220. The congregate orphanages of California, with few exceptions, get on for half that money. It is a question of what can be afforded. The cottage system is best, but it costs most, and yet the more costly system is the cheaper in the end if the money can be provided.

CHAPTER XXII.

SOME ORPHANAGES I HAVE SEEN.

I did not go out of my way in search of orphanages while making my eastern pilgrimage for the study of institutional life, but I think that I saw some of the better types, and some that perhaps had as much to teach California as any others that I might have found. Besides, time was all the while pressing hard.

The Iowa Soldiers' and Sailors' Orphans' Home—This institution grew out of the need which the Civil War created for taking care of the children of the soldiers and sailors who had given their lives to their country. It is located just outside of Davenport, on 320 acres of good land so well cultivated that it yields \$9,000 to \$10,000 a year toward the support of the institution. There are twenty cottages with thirty children each, besides other buildings. The boys and girls are domiciled in separate cottages, and the younger children are kept by themselves. The others are scattered through the different cottages more by temperament.

than by age, so that there are five or six older children in each cottage to help the matron do the work, although the little ones are made to work, too.

The physical defects of these children are admirably looked after. The older boys work on the farm half a day and are half a day in school, and the older girls grow vegetable and flower gardens. The average stay of children in the home is five and one half years and, as their education, through the grammar grade, is completed a state agent finds homes for them, or they go back to their own homes if they have relatives fit and able to take them. The superintendent, Mr. F. J. Sessions, fights institutionalization at every possible point and has certainly reduced it to a minimum.

Dependency is, in Iowa, either judicially determined or determined by the supervisors of the county that sends the children and has to pay \$6 per month toward their maintenance. The state pays \$12 per month for each child not partially supported by a county, and \$6 for those who are, and this, with the profits off the farm, about meets expenses; a very good showing certainly. This is all that Iowa, as a state, does for orphans.

The Michigan State School—At Coldwater, Michigan, is a most interesting institution known as a state school. It is sort of a clearing house for dependent children, and it is a good one. It takes in hand such children as do not fall into the hands of private or associate philanthropy; they are adjudged dependent by the probate court of the county in which found, whereupon the state assumes all responsibility for the child and the parent loses all rights to the child, no matter what the cause of dependency. The penalty of poverty is the loss of the child, and some other person gets it to rear as soon as it has been made fit to go into a home. Physical defects are admirably remedied if medical and surgical skill can accomplish the result.

To find homes for these children there is a state agent

in each county, and that agent also visits each child in the county two or more times a year. There is also a state agent, connected with the school, who visits, at least once a year, each child placed. This institution has a record of 5480 children placed in homes, 1475 of whom are still wards of the state and closely looked after. The stay of the child in this institution is short, not long enough to become at all institutionalized. Of 417 children who had come in during the year, only 175 remained in the school when I was there, and applications for children were hundreds ahead of the power to supply them.

Little Lone "Buckeyes"—Ohio as a state does nothing for the support of its little lone "buckeyes" who chance to be dependent. It does what many persons in California have advocated doing, turns them back to the several counties to take care of their own dependent children. It is complained in California that the multiplicity of orphanages tends to increase dependency, but the county system tends to the same end in a greater degree, for there are more of them and each one furnishes political jobs for those in control of dependent children.

I am told that, once a county orphanage is established, the officials in charge manage to skurry around and find dependent children enough to enable them to hold their own official positions. I visited one of these county orphanages just out of Toledo. It was fairly good, but not better than almost any one California helps to sustain. The cost to the taxpayer is \$10 per month per child, or quite a little more than in California. Ohio also has many charitably endowed orphanages rich enough to be self-sustaining and, also, a very good system of child placing, but so far as dependent children are supported at public charge the work is done neither cheaper nor better than in California.

The Protestant Orphanage at Cleveland—I visited this fine old institution because it has such a celebrated

and honorable history. It neither asks for nor receives any public support, except that the property actually used for the care of the children is not taxed. Its income-producing property is taxed, but the income is sufficient. Only about 100 children on an average are maintained here, both boys and girls. The work is to gather in the needy, fit them up, train them to decent living and then place them out. Such infants as come in are boarded out in the country mainly, in approved homes, at \$2 to \$3 per week. Very few of them die, for they are out of town where good milk is abundant and there are only three or four in a place.

The superintendent, Mr. Shunk, had devoted thirty-three years of continuous service in the institution, and his wife one year more. It is not expected that any child will remain in the institution longer than three years. If in that time a parent can take care of a child it is given back, otherwise it is placed in a home. No children not sound in body or mind are accepted at all, so little is done in the way of remedying physical defects. That is left to other institutions.

This institution has complete records of over 2000 children placed, but they are sealed to the public and to parents as well. When a parent has given up a child it is gone, and the children do not know and can not learn where other members of their family have gone. Their conditions of life are so different that they would come to have little in common and then the foster parents who have reared them have the first right to them and to be protected from their relatives. Less than 15 per cent of the children placed have had to be replaced, so well is the preparatory work done before a child is taken to a new home. It is a clean, hard, cold system, but its fruit is good citizenship where there would have been bad citizenship and probably criminality but for the merciful work done.

I visited other orphanages than those discussed above, but inasmuch as none of them possessed distinctive features of radical importance I close this

chapter with a reference back to the chapters devoted to those semi-orphanage and reformatories, the New York Juvenile Asylum and the Catholic Protectory, as having important bearings upon the subject of this chapter.

CHAPTER XXIII.

HOME FINDING FOR CHILDREN.

If any one feature of institutional life can be said to have been uppermost in my mind while investigating the institutional life of the eastern states it was that of the placing out in suitable homes of children free and fit to be placed in homes. There is little reason to doubt that there is a childless home for every homeless child in this land, and no reason to doubt that a fair sort of home is a better place for a child than the best orphanage that ever was.

California has, in my judgment, a round thousand children in her forty-four orphanages, costing the state from \$75,000 to \$100,000 a year, aside from what they cost the charitably disposed, who are both free and fit to be placed in homes, but who are not being so placed, and for the want of adequate machinery for doing the placing. I think that the supplying of this need is the most important and pressing reformatory measure connected with the dependent-child problem as it affects California. This is my excuse for devoting so much space to this chapter.

Child and State—Let it be understood at the outset that the placing out of dependent childhood is clearly a state responsibility. Every dependent child is a ward of the state and the state is not doing its duty by childhood if it shirks its guardianship without limitation, upon whomever the impulse of charity or the impulse of personal acquisitiveness may prompt to undertake the work of home finding for children.

The state, through its properly qualified officers (preferably the State Board of Charities and Corrections) should know what is doing in this direction and who is doing it, and should have power to regulate the work where regulation is needed. This is the almost universal custom throughout the East and it is attended with results of the highest beneficence.

The Michigan System—Every county in Michigan has a state agent whose business it is to find homes for children dependent upon the state and to visit such children as are placed in homes other than their own. These agents are all men (which is probably a mistake), who are appointed by the governor of the state and who draw salaries ranging between \$150 and \$200 a year, according to the populations of their respective counties. It is more nearly correct to say that they are paid a per diem for visiting, but the entire recompense can not during each calendar year exceed the sums above mentioned. The appointments are petty political ones, but the system does not work badly. The trend of legislation in Michigan is to bring all private and associate institutions for the care of dependent children into line with the state system of placing out. The State Board of Charities and Corrections has a supervisory control over all such institutions and the greatest harmony exists between private and public instrumentalities for doing this much-needed work.

The New York Way—In New York state every child placed in any home other than its own by indenture, adoption or to board, is reported to the State Board of Charities and Corrections within five days under severe penalty for failure, and the State Board of Charities maintains a very perfect system of visitation to guard the welfare of the child in the home thus prepared for it. About 4000 children are so placed annually in the state of New York, and, besides, many New York children are placed in other states of the west

and south. Some institutions are strong enough to have their own system of placing out; others avail themselves of systems already in existence.

The New York Juvenile Asylum System—As stated elsewhere in this volume the placing out in the west is done for this institution by the Children's Home Society, with headquarters at Chicago. About 125 children are sent west annually, children that are either free to go because they have no one to look out for them or who have been made free because their parents are unfit to have their custody. This society pays the Home Society \$11 per year for placing and visiting children, and \$6 more per year per child for office work and correspondence. There are now 460 children out who have been placed in this way and who are still under the jurisdiction of the society, not having attained their majority. Sixty-seven of these were replaced last year. Of one group of 92 children placed in "first" homes, which means the first trial home, 33 had to be replaced once and 7 had to be replaced twice before they found places where they fitted. The Home Society at Chicago finds in its territory that about half the children will have to be replaced at least once before they fit well.

The Catholic Home Bureau—This institution in New York, an auxiliary of the St. Vincent de Paul Society, has about as perfect a system of home finding for children as any organization in the country. It is not as large as some others, as yet, but it is growing and is doing an admirable work in an admirable manner. The Catholic Home Bureau has an office in New York with a superintendent and several stenographers, and it has seven agents in the field.

When about to enter a new diocese the consent and co-operation of the bishop of the diocese are first obtained, and through the hearty coöperation of the bishop the coöperation of the priests in the local parishes is likewise obtained. A little pushing is sometimes needful

in this quarter because the pastors of parish churches are sometimes a good deal crowded with work and are loath to take on new responsibilities, but it is rarely the case that the hearty coöperation of the priest is not secured in a little while at farthest.

The priest announces the probable coming of an agent of the society to his congregation and so prepares the public mind for it. Then the priest makes out and has ready for the agent upon his arrival a list of the families in his parish who could, and perhaps should, take a child to rear as an own child. No child is placed without the approval of the parish priest who knows his people thoroughly. This approval, while indispensable, is not all-sufficient. The home must also be approved by the agent and, upon a full hearing, by a special or general committee of the Home Bureau itself. In fact, every possible precaution is taken to first prepare the home for the child and the child for the home to the end that they may fit. The home must be permanent and reasonably prosperous, must be moral and so situated that the child may receive religious instruction. When at last the issue has been decided the particular child goes to the designated home and no other, and that home takes that child or none. By making this decision a finality whimsical preferences are avoided and the children stay put. Less than one half of one per cent of the children placed out by the Catholic Home Bureau during seven years of experience have had to be replaced, and yet the bureau is placing children at the rate of 300 per year. This is an incomparable record, and for the reason that the preliminary work is so intelligently and thoroughly done, and for the further and more vital reason that the child is taken into the home more because of what the home can do for the child than of what the child can do for the home.

Of Placing and Replacing in General—The bane of placing out children to be reared as own children is the replacing. A long-whiskered Nebraskan engaged

in home finding confessed to me that 75 per cent of the children he placed had to be replaced from once to three times. Dr. Hastings H. Hart, of the Children's Home Society at Chicago, admitted that 50 per cent of the children placed by his society had to be replaced before attaining their majority, and this is not considered to be at all a bad record. In many instances children are knocked about from pillar to post until they become incorrigible and have to be sent to a reform school, and for no other reason than that the preliminary work of preparing a home for the child, and a child for the home, was not tactfully and efficiently done.

The Protestant asylum at Cleveland, with thirty years of experience in placing children out to be reared as own children, and with 2000 children out, reports that not above 15 per cent of the children have had to be replaced. Under the Michigan system, so far as it affects the State School at Coldwater, not above 5 per cent of the children placed in "first" homes have to be placed a second time. If more than 25 per cent of dependent children placed in "first" homes have to be replaced it is, in my judgment, because the preliminary work was not tactfully and efficiently performed. In the cases of delinquent children of all ages taken out of the slums of cities, 50 per cent of replacings may not be out of reason.

Broken-down clergymen, who were failures in the pulpit, may make the majority of child-placing agents, but they do not make the best. They do not know people, and therefore work to poor advantage. This work is exacting and painstaking and requires clear heads, quick wits, keen powers of observation and discrimination and a genuine enthusiasm, and self-dependent, middle-aged single women do about the best work in this line that is done.

Why Children Are Applied For—Commonly, orphan-ages are applied to for children big enough to work, with the expectation that the child will do more for

the family than the family will do for the child. In such cases children are too often made into little drudges scarcely better than young slaves. Again, a child is applied for because the woman of the home wants company, and a child to take out with her to show off to good advantage. In such cases it is indispensable that the child have a peach-blow complexion and a sweet disposition. All want a sweet disposition and no blemishes of person or character. While a *quid pro quo* is not incompatible with the taking of a child into the family home to be reared, yet, if no higher motive than that is made manifest, no child should be entrusted to such a household if a better may be found. It is because of bitter experiences of mistreatment and childish unhappiness that most orphanages are reluctant to give their children to whomever may ask for them.

Why Children Should be Applied For—What parent does not expect to do more for an own child than he expects such child to do for him? And what foster parent has a reasonable right to expect more from a stranger than from an own child? The rearing of any child is an act of unselfish consecration to the highest form of human service, whether own or adopted. Unless the childless home wants a child for the purpose of doing for it, for the purpose of loving and cherishing it, and of making the most out of it that the material in it will allow, that home will do well to remain childless, and the child will do well to remain in an orphanage until it gets big enough to take its own chances in a chill-hearted world. Thank heaven there are those who apply for children because they love children, because their hearts warm toward them, and because they find their own highest happiness in ministering to the needs of one of God's forlorn creatures. Such persons often undertake the task as a thank offering to a kind Providence for the abundant measure of their own prosperity. I have in mind a woman who

brought up twelve children of her own, and three others, but, when they had all gone from the motherly coop, she sent a daughter to an orphanage for another, asking by preference for "some little crippled child whom no one else would care to take." I venture the prophecy that, in the kingdom-come, that swarthy and rotund multi-mother will have a stature ten feet tall with a complexion of alabaster. There are such men and women in the world. The thing of it is to find them and put them in mind of an opportunity to render a Christ service to one of those little ones whom he always suffered to come unto him. The rearing of a child is no picnic. It is a sacramental covenant with the Most High.

The Children's Guardians of New Jersey—This organization has not borne the test of time, for it was only organized in 1899, but it seems to be working on right lines. The working force is supported by the state, but the children are supported by the counties in which they reside. When dependent children are turned into the almshouses they are at once turned over to the Children's Guardians, which first boards them out in private families at rates ranging between \$1.50 and \$2.75 per week, according to age and care needed, with an allowance of \$18 per year for clothes, and then finds permanent homes for them as soon as they are free and fit to go into homes. This is done so efficiently that there is no accumulation of dependent childhood in New Jersey.

Many families may suffer dismemberment of a permanent character, but the larger part of the children taken in charge are discharged to relatives who have survived their adversity or who have been found after diligent search. Often they are willing enough to take care of the children, but had lost track of their kin and did not know of their poverty.

Children's Aid Societies—There are many of these and some of them have done a great work in finding homes for homeless children. The New York society

of this name is fifty-one years old and has placed children in the west and south by the tens of thousands. About five per cent of these children have turned out badly. Twenty-five per cent have had to be replaced and fifteen per cent more than once. A farm is maintained in Westchester county, where the children gathered up from the streets and tenements of New York are sent to be put into good condition before going west or south, of late years mainly to Texas.

CHAPTER XXIV.

WHAT CALIFORNIA SHOULD DO.

California is maintaining as dependent, by and with the help of public charity, a large number of children who should not be dependent and who need not be if those who are responsible for them were made to do their duty. It must be somebody's business to do this or it will not be done. It blights the life of the child and encourages a hereditary pauperism.

The office of the State Board of Examiners maintains a restraining influence over dependency, but it has not now and never has had a force adequate for searching out the ultimate facts concerning each case certified up to it by the forty-four orphanages and the fifty-seven boards of supervisors of the respective counties. Nor are the managers of the orphanages any better equipped for this service. They are charity workers, their means is limited and the time they can give to the work more so, and, besides, a hard-luck story is likely to be received at more than par value by persons charged with the conduct of benevolent institutions. If they had not been benevolently inclined they would not have been associated with a benevolent institution.

A proper tribunal for the determination of an issue of fact in which the public or the state is interested, is a court. I think that the law should be so amended

that no child should become a charge upon the bounty of the state until its dependency has been judicially determined. This will save the state tens of thousands of dollars annually and will work childhood no wrong. It will also have a tendency to enforce parental responsibility. I have already spoken quite fully on this subject in the chapter devoted to "The Dependent Child."

My next most important recommendation is for the establishment of a system of authorized home-finding for children who are both free and fit to go into homes to be reared as own children or by indenture until they are old enough to take care of themselves. There is a species of child brokerage going on that should be stopped, but all proper persons should be licensed to engage in home-finding who desire to devote themselves to that benevolence.

It is my judgment that this much-needed work can best be performed under the supervision and control of the State Board of Charities and Corrections. It should have power to scrutinize all agencies for child-placing and to authorize or prohibit their activities according as their work meets with approval or merits disapprobation. Coupled with this should go a visitatorial power, with force enough to make that power effective, which should result in an agent visiting every child placed out by any person in the state as often as twice a year until legally adopted or until such children have attained their majority.

One reason why this function should be turned over to the State Board of Charities and Corrections is that such is the custom of the older states of the Union, which have been brought into closest contact with the dependent-child problem, and the system works well there.

A second reason is that a system, once established, can be given a continuity of operation under such a board that it could not have under any state office likely to suffer a change of personnel at every change of

administration. A continuing policy is indispensable to success.

Furthermore, the supervision of the placing of children in homes is itself a charity and appertains naturally to a State Board of Charities.

Finally, under no circumstances should a dependent child become the victim of partisan politics. In all of the states of the east, so far as I have been able to inform myself, their several State Boards of Charities have maintained themselves entirely outside of the current of political influence, and the constitution of the California State Board is well calculated to attain this much to be desired end. In no other board or commission is the welfare of the child likely to be so well and so impartially looked out for as under the State Board of Charities and Corrections.

The auditing of expense accounts should continue to be, as at present, a function of the State Board of Examiners.

These two reformatory measures will, I feel sure, if put into effective operation, cut the state's financial burden occasioned by dependent childhood in twain, and yet make the dependent child much better cared for than at present.

The dependent child is the ward of the state and the state should better and more intelligently discharge its duties as ultimate guardian. There has been dereliction of duty in this particular, and the consequences of that dereliction have been serious to the child and burdensome to the state treasury.

Furthermore, by extending the paid probation officer system to all of the counties of the state, as stated in the chapter devoted to "The Dependent Child," a well-ordered and most promising system of child placing, and child visiting, under the eyes of the juvenile court, will have been at once created. With the aid of the State Board of Charities and Corrections in organizing this system coöperatively California will be equipped with a placing-out and visitation system second to that of no other state in the Union.

CHAPTER XXV.

THE BOARDING-OUT SYSTEM.

All states and countries have orphanages, but there are some states which are coming to the conclusion that an orphanage is not absolutely indispensable and perhaps does not furnish the best disposition that can be made of a dependent child. To send a dependent child off to the nearest orphanage is to move in the direction of least resistance, but not always in the direction of best opportunity for the child.

The Massachusetts Way—There are a good many orphanages in Massachusetts, but they are nearly all of them rich enough to live and do their appointed work without other support than their endowments afford, although charity may be appealed to now and again by some of them. However, there are many children who become dependent who fall into the hands of the State Board of Charities instead of into an orphanage. This board boards these children out in licensed private families all over the state instead of putting them into an institution of any sort. And this is done whether the dependent child has relatives or not.

Massachusetts has upward of 4000 of its wards out at board at prices ranging from \$2 per week for ordinary children to \$2.75 for babies, and not more than three or four are allowed in one family. Most of these homes are on New England farms, where the children are well housed and sent to school if old enough. The state also clothes the children in addition to boarding them and pays for reasonable medical attendance. If children are in a diseased condition they are first sent to the Massachusetts general hospital for treatment.

The first cost of caring for dependent children in this way is quite a good deal in excess of that in the California orphanage, but the Yankee trick of it is

that when the State Board undertakes to change the boarding-place of children about an even half of them are refused to be given up. They have worked themselves into the hearts of their care-takers until they are willing to keep them without cost to the state, and they are reared as own children.

To insure good treatment of the children boarded out and placed out, a corps of fifty volunteer visitors is maintained in the different communities where the children are placed. They keep close watch and report to the State Board of Charities at short intervals if there be necessity for it. In addition to these the State Board maintains a small corps of trained visitors who are in the field nearly all the time and who see all the state's dependent wards at least twice a year or as much oftener as may be necessary to insure good care.

Independent Boston—The city of Boston has a similar system of its own, managed independently of the general state work. The first fight Boston makes is to prevent a child having a record of pauperism to shadow it in after life, and to this end a thorough investigation of each case is made and if possible some relative is found to whom the dependent child may be safely sent. The law makes grandparents responsible if they have the ability to pay, and they may either take the dependent child into their own home or pay for his board elsewhere, in which case no record of pauperism is made. If no relative can be found to assume the burden the fact of dependency then becomes established more by investigation than by judicial procedure, but there are officers in abundance commissioned to do this work under the guidance of a board of seven trustees of the poor. Families are held together as long as possible, even if they must be helped to tide over trying periods. Children are taken from their parents only when unfit, that fact being judicially determined. Boston has over 900 dependent and neg-

lected children boarding out in the New England states at city expense. These children are all visited by paid visitors independently of the state visitors. About the only institutions connected with the whole Boston system are a parental school and a house of reformation.

Something Doing in Pennsylvania—The Children's Aid Society at Philadelphia has entered upon an important work much in line with the Boston and Massachusetts systems. This association receives a lump sum of \$7500 from the state, and \$2 per child per week from the city of Philadelphia for dependent children boarded out. If parents encounter an industrial hardship of some sort, which they frequently do as a result of strikes and lockouts, they may turn their children over to this society and it will take them into the country, board them out and send them to school, and bring them back again when the parents become able to support them.

If, however, children are really dependent they are first boarded at rates ranging from \$1.50 per week, where a child is old enough to do some work, to \$2.75 for a baby in arms. The babies are always sent where cows are kept, and they generally thrive. The Aid Society allows \$30 per year for clothing and something for medical attendance if necessary, although local physicians seldom charge for their services.

As in Massachusetts, so in Pennsylvania, when the society undertakes to change boarding-places there is generally a weepy time of it, with the result that the child remains in the home as a free if not as an adopted child. Of 7000 children out at the time of my visit fully 3000 were on the free list. A close system of visitation is maintained, and the consensus of opinion seemed to be that the boarding-out system is far preferable to the orphanage plan of caring for dependent children and not much more expensive in the long run. The children enjoy a normal home life and are not at all institutionized and only slightly pauperized.

In all cases above mentioned only well children are, in the main, boarded out—children with no deficiencies to speak of. The epileptics are sent to an institution especially for their care, the feeble-minded to another, and those with remediable deficiencies are sent to the hospitals where they are generally treated free, or next thing to it, and so are given a fair start in life.

The boarding-out system is not a bad one if looked after sharply, but if not children are not unlikely to suffer hardships through falling into the hands of the wrong kind of persons. Vigilance is the price of success, but it seemed to me that there was no lack of requisite vigilance. Always, too, this system supplements a very old, ample and well-endowed system of orphanages founded by individual or associated benevolence, and the boarding-out system practically takes care of only the excess of children over and above what the institutions are able to care for. It is not causing any of such institutions, of which Massachusetts has a round hundred, to close their doors.

CHAPTER XXVI.

ODDS AND ENDS OF THE CHILD PROBLEM.

Adoption—There are those who feel that they are not warranted in placing out a child in a home unless they can require the foster parents to adopt the child legally and so make it their own. This is as likely to work to the disadvantage of the child as to its advantage. What the dependent child needs is to be well brought up, and the child that finds itself in a home where it by and by ceases to be welcome is not benefited by being so annexed to that home that it can not legally be separated from it. It will be far better to have it replaced in a home more suited to its temperament and character. There are many who would be willing to take a child to rear to maturity and to fit for

life who are not willing to agree at the outset to make it a sharer in the family estate, as it will be entitled to be if legally adopted. It is not a patrimony that the child wants. It is a good, honest, capable American bringing up. Finally, the matter of adoption may safely be left to time and the inclinations of the parties. If the child makes its way into the holy of holies of the hearts of its foster parents, as is so often the case, that child will be adopted soon enough and will be made heir, not only at law, but in love and affection.

Indenture—In some states children are indentured rather than adopted. The New York law is quite specific on the point. This is done where the child is old enough to learn a trade or occupation and to render a service commensurate with the advantage. Sometimes in such cases an agreement stands the child in good stead, but not often. It tends to make the relation more permanent and not to be terminated because of some whim; but in all such cases the child needs some next of kin, or friend of the court, to preserve the child's rights, and indenture without a system of visitation that insures the protection of the child in its rights is hardly worth the paper it is written on.

At Good Will—Perhaps the best way of placing out children is to first use great care in selecting the home and the child, and in fitting the child into the home intelligently, and then leave both home and child to endure each other so long as a mutuality of good will exists. This arrangement may seem a little loose, but it offers the advantage of making it comparatively easy to remedy a mistake if one occur, and it gives all needed opportunity for the child to grow into the family heart and so become part and parcel thereof. This arrangement inclines people to take the risk of undertaking to rear a stranger child, and does not at all stand in the way of loving it as an own child—the real aim of every placing out.

Compulsory Support—Compelling any relative other than father and mother to support a dependent child may save something to the state, but is likely to inflict great hardship upon the child. It better befits a narrow-minded community where a dollar of tax looks like an impending disaster than it does a great commonwealth solicitous for the proper discharge of its duty as ultimate guardian. On the other hand, compulsory enforcement of parental duty often results in redeeming the parents to reputable living. There is an innate justice in it that commends it to the conscience and understanding of the most depraved and shiftless of mankind, and as compulsion usually goes with a helping hand to secure employment, and a probationary hostage to good conduct, efforts at compulsory parental support generally work out to the mutual advantage of all concerned.

Desertion of Family—This is a problem to which the best sociological thought is giving close attention. It is not the father who can not support his family who deserts it, nor is it the man who is weighed down with bodily affliction or racked with the pains of accumulating years. It is the beast of a man, in the full hey-day of manly vigor, who finds the care of a family a burden and that the burden stands in the way of the fuller gratification of his own physical appetites. He wants to spend all his earnings on himself, and what he needs is a good dose of cat-o'-nine tails. What his family needs, though, is to make him perform his duties as husband and father.

This can be done if only some one will do it. Ordinary officers will not. A probationary court can, if there be a society to take the initial steps. It must be a question of rotting in jail or going to work to support the family, and that probation must be continuous until the man has formed habits of industry and reconciled himself to his duty. Mere severity of the law will not suffice. In fact, it tends to bar the way toward

reforming the man by creating sympathy for him. It is just as well to have desertion a misdemeanor as a felony if only something can be done about it. Six months in jail, with an alternative of going to work, is as good as a year, and it has been decided that a culprit may be extradited for a misdemeanor as well as for a felony.

It is the favorite trick of these men to run over an adjacent state line and then wriggle their fingers in the faces of their late neighbors. A few prompt extraditions have, in eastern states, had a most wholesome influence. A certainty of having the law meted out to this form of malefactor will work a radical reform in conduct. At present a certainty that nothing whatever will be done about it makes this one of the most exasperating and prevalent social evils workers among dependent childhood have to deal with. It costs California, state and counties, tens of thousands annually.

After Fourteen, What?—It is well known that state aid to dependent childhood ceases at fourteen years of age. After that, then what becomes of the children? There is now no one in California capable of fully answering this question. The State Board of Charities and Corrections is at work on it, but is, as I understand, not ready to report. It is about the most vulnerable period of a child's life. Perhaps the girl is a little more in danger at sixteen, but at fourteen neither a boy nor a girl is fit for the responsibilities of self-direction, the more especially if the previous six or eight years have been spent in an orphanage. They need to be looked out for as much then as ever, but most orphanages find ways of washing their hands of all responsibility for them. Not all do so. Some find work for them and keep in touch with them while they may, but none of the orphanages with which I am acquainted is financially able to follow them.

Here is another good sphere of activity for the State Board of Charities and Corrections. By a system of

visitation and work-finding for these children of fourteen many of them may be saved to reputable life who are now lost to it. In its admirable Technical school in San Francisco the Catholic Church is providing for such of these as are girls and as are capable of becoming expert seamstresses. Los Angeles needs another institution of that kind, but even if it had one these two could care for only a small part of the Catholic children. The Episcopal Church is doing a good work in San Francisco also, but practical benevolence can find a boundless sphere of utility here. The child who goes out of an orphanage should not be let go of until it has come to the period of self-realization, and that period is seldom reached until somewhere between eighteen and twenty-one years of age. Some eastern states carry along the period of public help to sixteen years of age instead of fourteen, but that does not so much better things. It is not safe to let go altogether until the dawn of common sense has burst forth effulgently.

Health in Orphanages—It is due to our California orphanages to say of them that, almost without exception, the general health of their wards is good, much better than that of an equal number of children outside. Institutional life is healthful most everywhere. There is plenty of plain living if not a superabundance of high thinking, and the regularity of the life, the going to bed at a certain hour and the getting up at another, the inability to run to the cupboard and to buy candies and jim-cracks—all these things are conducive to good health, sound sleep and able-bodied digestions. Remember this to their credit.

The Reward of Success—The successful coping with the problem of delinquent and dependent childhood almost involves the issue of the progress of the human race. No civilization can endure half criminal and half exemplary, or even a tenth criminal and nine-tenths above serious reproach. In fact, the whole burden of institutional life, which, in one form or another, em-

braces all of dependency and all of criminality, hardly concerns one person in the hundred, and yet how great is that burden. It is practically the hundredth man who creates the whole problem of government. Eliminate that man, and prevent his place being filled by another, and the courts may take vacations three-quarters of the year, the prison doors be thrown off the hinges and the asylums razed to the ground. And the problem of the hundredth man of to-morrow is the problem of the dependent and delinquent child of to-day. The reward of success in dealing with this problem is the emancipation of the race.

CHAPTER XXVII.

THE FEEBLE-MINDED CHILD.

The output of watches in the great factory at Waltham, Massachusetts, is said to be about 3000 per day. In each day's output there are some 250 or 300 timepieces which will not run. They were made by the same persons who made the successful watches and with the aid of the same splendidly appointed machinery, but the wheels will not go round. Long experience has demonstrated the futility of trying to discover and remedy the deficiencies of these watches and, inasmuch as they are metal and not flesh and blood, they are thrown into the scrap heap and melted up.

About the same percentage of children born in Massachusetts are similarly deficient. They are born of the same parents as other perfectly normal children, but somehow the inscrutable mechanism which provides for replenishing the earth with human kind scores the most dismal failures imaginable in one out of each 250 or 300 attempts, and society is burdened with a more or less serious problem of maintaining these imbeciles while they live.

Other Reasons Why—This is not saying that there are no known methods for accounting for feeble-mindedness in children. There are some such methods fairly well known to the medical profession, but there are more assumptions of knowledge than ascertained truths. There are reasons to suppose that attempts at race suicide have resulted in the birth of feeble-minded progeny. It is almost a certainty that the offspring of feeble-minded persons will be feeble-minded, although this does not always follow. Alcoholism may be charged with from 7 or 8 to $33\frac{1}{3}$ per cent, owing to the predisposition of the mind of the statistician toward alcoholics.

Whatever the primary cause may be there is reason to believe that the immediate cause is the malnutrition of the unborn child. The product is what is slangily termed "half baked," when it should mean half fed. Statistical information of a truly scientific character is wanting, because the data obtained are incomplete and dependent upon what the relatives are of a mind to tell. However, this much is known, there are many thousands of feeble-minded persons in every commonwealth, ranging all the way from the border line of normal mentality down to idiocy of such a pronounced character as to make the subjects to all intents swaddled and diapered infants, to be cared for as such through all the days of their lives.

The Situation in California—The California Home for Feeble-Minded at Eldridge is caring for 550 inmates. It has been estimated that there are 2000 more feeble-minded children in the state who are eligible for admission and who need to be cared for. This would account for only one feeble-minded person in California to each 750 of population or thereabouts. That there are many more can hardly be questioned. Every physician in his private practice knows of one or more persons who are distinctly feeble-minded. Then there are numbers so near the border line as to be burdens upon the

public in one form or another, generally in the production of pauperism and criminality because irresponsible and unequal to a single-handed contest with the world into which they were badly born.

What Can be Done for Them—A feeble-minded child is much like other children save that it is feeble-minded. Its mind is not a blank. Idiocy is only a more aggravated type of feeble-mindedness, and not, as many suppose, a different thing, and even an idiot can be taught. Many feeble-minded children can be taught a great deal, and their working capacity may in many instances be developed to the point of making them self-sustaining, but no feeble-minded person will ever become self-directing. That consummation of intellectual power known as common sense will never be vouchsafed to them and, wanting it, they must be looked after and their lives ordered by others than themselves. The acme of achievement for them is to be raised to the condition of cleanly, moral, happy and self-sustaining existence. By the percentage of its inmates which are raised above the custodial grade is the success or failure of an institution for the feeble-minded to be determined.

Custodial cases are those which have to be handled like infants and are set down as not teachable. Judged by this standard a great difference will be found to exist among institutions devoted to this work throughout the country. California's institution at Eldridge, through lack of an adequate teaching force, is not very near the head of the column. The obligation which society owes to God and humanity is to make the most of these unfortunates that the material in them will allow, and to lift the burden of their care off the shoulders of those families who have this manner of skeleton in the family closet. It is the body of death chained to the living and from which they should be freed if they can be. Often they are no more at fault in the matter than the makers of the Waltham

watches that would not go, but even if they have sinned their punishment has been greater than they can bear without sacrificing all there is of life worth the living. California should enlarge its capacity for caring for these unfortunates.

Not All Born So—It is by no means true that all feeble-minded children were born so. In many cases this condition has resulted from scarlet fever, measles, brain fever, or from some untoward accident or injury. It is a calamity that may come upon any one at any time of life, but of course the greater number are congenitally deficient. In either event the state's duty is the same. It is to bear one another's burdens when the individual burden is too great to be borne.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

SOME INSTITUTIONS FOR THE FEEBLE-MINDED.

It will be impossible to fully describe all the institutions I visited that are devoted to the care of feeble-minded persons, but I shall point out some of the salient features of some of them. There are many in the country that I did not so much as catch a glimpse of, but those mentioned here rank well toward the front so far as common reputation goes.

At Fort Wayne, Indiana—This institution was established in 1879 and contained 1042 patients on the day of my visit. Children are received between 6 and 16 years of age, women between 16 and 45. The children are admitted voluntarily, but the women are committed by order of court. Seventy-five per cent of the inmates are regarded as teachable and for their instruction twelve teachers are employed. California, with more than half as many patients, has, until very recently, had but two teachers and now has but three.

All teaching of the feeble-minded must be individual,

but even at Fort Wayne each teacher has 26 to 30 children in her charge each half day, or 52 to 60 during the entire day, for there are half-day sessions. No teacher should have above 12 or 15 feeble-minded children in hand at a time, or 24 to 30 in a day. The children are taught reading and writing and simple numbers. They forget what they do not use. The object in this institution is to educate to the point of happiness, but not beyond it, to the point of dissatisfaction with life.

This institution makes and repairs with the labor of its inmates all the shoes required, makes all the boys' clothing and all the clothing for the girls except the knit goods. The boys make their own clothes except shirts, which the girls make for them. A farm of 308 acres of good land, and 97 acres more rented, is successfully cultivated by the men and boys with only enough hired labor to direct the work. There are 100 in the working force. There are nine industrial teachers besides those above mentioned.

At Elwyn, Pennsylvania—This is one of the biggest and best known institutions for the care of feeble-minded persons in this country and it enjoys a deservedly high reputation. I found here 1059 charges upon 337 acres of land. Of these, 500 were in the training department, and 100 others were being trained outside of the training department. I found, however, three cottages filled with cases classed as custodial, and, if I am not greatly deceived, about two-fifths of the total population is set down as custodial and not susceptible of being taught. How greatly this differs from some other institutions will be seen farther on.

I think that this is the principal, and perhaps the only, criticism that Elwyn deserves—that it classes as custodial a very large number of its wards that might have been lifted greatly above that disgusting and almost intolerable grade known as custodial. Admissions are from 7 to 14 years, but the inmates may re-

main for life when once admitted. There are between 1000 and 1500 on the waiting list. About one-third of the inmates attend school, and for their instruction twenty teachers are employed. Sloyd in various forms constitutes the basis of instruction, and a good deal of mechanical ability and skill are developed. In fact, Elwyn can show a higher degree of attainment along this line than perhaps any other similar institution in America, but a high average is attained more through lifting the few quite high than through lifting the entire mass above the custodial line.

There is much of hammock-making, carpet-weaving of Norwegian tapestry, basketry and the making of mattresses and of such furniture as the institution requires. Many can do this work who can not be taught to read or to write. The custodial cases on the male wards are handled by men and their wives, a system that works well and makes for improved behavior.

New Jersey Training School for Feeble-Minded—

There are two state institutions for the care of the feeble-minded at Vineland, New Jersey, just across the road from each other. One is for young women, which will be mentioned in the next chapter, and one for feeble-minded boys and girls. I found here 350 inmates, occupying twelve industrial and other buildings and eight residence cottages. This institution is owned and conducted by a benevolent association, and the state boards its feeble-minded wards with it at \$275 per child per year for custodial cases. If the inmate be self-supporting the state pays nothing for its support; if partially so the state pays such a part of its support as may be agreed upon. Some are paid for as low as \$25 per year, and quite a number at \$50, and so on up to \$275, which is the limit. The ages of admission are 5 to 21 years, but some women are admitted older than that. The institution has a farm of 200 acres and it yields an income of \$10,000 to \$11,000 a year, almost wholly with inmate labor.

This institution is intensely alive. Its superintendent, Mr. Edward R. Johnstone, has organized a staff of consulting psychologists, which holds regular sessions at the school for the study of the phenomenon of feeble-mindedness. He has also organized a summer school for teachers who are to work with backward children in cities, to the end that they may observe the processes of mental development among feeble-minded where the processes of mental unfoldment are so slow as to be readily perceived. This has proven very helpful to teachers engaged in that much-needed work.

Although the inmates of this institution are all so feeble-minded as to be incapable of intelligent self-direction, they are made the most of that the material will allow. The system of discipline is based entirely upon rewards, but not at all upon punishments, and for five years no child has been whipped. It is believed that thirty per cent of all the inmates can be made self-sustaining after ten years of training, but, as previously stated, not self-directing. Not over one-sixth are purely custodial. All must be kept going. Without tireless enthusiasm everything will come to a full stop. There is no resting on the oars in that institution.

A unique feature of the educational department is a well-equipped zoo of all the more common live things that live in the country, and some that do not. There are monkeys, badgers, squirrels, coons, many kinds of birds, etc. The children are made acquainted with them all, to the great stimulation of their interest and intellectual activity.

The industrial feature is very strong and intelligent, but, during the growing season, all else except the mere supplying of daily wants is laid aside for the pushing of the farm work. The boys handle the farm proper, the girls the vegetable garden and orchard. This is much better for them than shop work, which is done up in winter.

Another feature not by any means to be overlooked

is the store. What are known as "o. k." slips, denoting good conduct, are translatable into currency of that realm of graded values, according to conduct, of one cent to seven cents for a definite time. The store is opened for a part of a day every so often, and the children with good slips are able to buy such things as appeal to their childish fancies. If they have not been good, and have not put forth effort, they can not buy; if they have, they can. It pays to be good and, feeble-minded though they be, the inmates not infrequently husband their savings against the time when they shall have enough to purchase some one thing of great desire. "Honorable mention" is another stimulant to mental and moral exertion, and the few who get the most honorable mentions in the year are taken to Philadelphia to see the wonders of the great city.

The Vineland institution is a beehive of activity and originality, and there is small reason to doubt that it is making of its charges about as much as the material that God put into them will allow. The custodial contingent is reduced to a very low, if not to the lowest, possible terms.

CHAPTER XXIX.

FROM WAVERLY TO TEMPLETON.

If a special chapter be devoted to the Massachusetts system of caring for the feeble-minded it is because, in the opinion of the writer, the system deserves it as pointing the way toward better things for the feeble-minded wards of the several states.

At Waverly—The parent institution is at Waverly, a few miles out of Boston. It is splendidly located, well equipped with model buildings of substantial construction and has a housing capacity sufficient for perhaps 900 inmates and 100 or more attendants. The demand for admissions far exceeds the power to accommodate, for it has been estimated that there are

20,000 feeble-minded persons in Massachusetts. The whole institution, together with the colony at Templeton, is under the immediate charge of Dr. Walter E. Fernald, whom Massachusetts imported from Wisconsin because he had made a reputation in his own state.

The institution is on state land, and mainly supported by state money, but it is managed largely through the original benevolent corporation that entered upon the work in the days of the beneficent activities of Dr. Samuel G. Howe. The state appoints six directors and the corporation six. But two changes in the directorate can be made each two years, and so no radical changes take place. Some men are on the board whose grandfathers were there before them, and their own fathers, too. The success of the institution is, to them, a matter of pride and of love for defenseless humanity. It is all outside of politics.

The Educational Work—The educational work is carried on in this institution very much as it is in the public schools, except that it is all individual, and except that the feebleness of mind and dullness of mental perception make progress slow, and cause interminable drafts upon the patience and the integrity of the teachers. Nowhere else have I seen such devotion as is daily manifested here. Of 1015 inmates only between 45 and 50, through sickness or idiocy, were classed as of so low grade that nothing could be given them in the way of instruction or training for lifting them above their lowly condition. A dog could be taught in a tenth of the time to do certain things that these children must be taught to do and understand if they are to be lifted above the lowliest of God's sentient beings.

The Kindergarten—The first step toward enlightenment consists in being made to discriminate between a red ball and a blue or white one, go get it when it has been rolled across the courtyard, and fetch it back to the teacher. Perhaps a hundred times the child must

be taken by the hand by the teacher and be made to run after the ball, have it put into its hand, be run back with, and then start again the same way, before the child will gain intelligence enough to go after it of its own accord, pick up its own ball and not another's, and bring it back. This accomplished, it is made to see if it can not do it quicker than another child. When Johnny has accomplished that feat the news spreads all over the institution and there is great joy from the superintendent down. Another exercise and education is to first pile a lot of convenient sized stones around a tree in pyramidal form, and then move them, on a succeeding day, and put them around another tree. All that is done is done under the stimulus of a "hurrah boys, hurry, hurry, hurry-up" spirit, of which no one but a woman teacher is capable. The kindergarten laboratory contains perhaps \$1500 worth of contrivances calculated to awaken interest in a childish mind and so teach it to discriminate between colors, forms and feelings to the sense of touch.

Elemental Educational Work—Here we see the processes of the education of the human mind laid bare, link by link, step by step. The agencies employed, and which must find place in all educational processes, are physical training, competitive play and manual training. The running after the balls thrown across the courtyard, the carrying of the stones from tree to tree, brings the muscles, that have been little used, into action and strengthens them. The effort to do the thing quicker than another child sharpens the wits and excites enthusiasm. Finally, the manual training, which follows through the course, trains the hand and eye and stimulates mental activity through motor centers.

The Result—By this course of training, in a hundred varied forms I have no space for describing, the feeble-minded misfits of nature are strengthened in mind and body until, as a whole, they are able to provide for

nearly all of the needs of the community save the creation of the raw materials. The girls make the clothes for the whole thousand and more, keep them in repair, and do the laundry work. The boys do the shoe-making, printing, carpentering, painting, garden-making, and take care of the grounds. All wash dishes, make beds, scrub floors, and the brighter ones help to take care of those not so bright. Only the best trained teachers are given places in the institution. The duller the child the better the teachers must be, and the more love and enthusiasm must they have for their work.

Templeton—Every institution that receives young persons for life custody will, if it makes no provision for an outlet, inevitably become clogged with unteachable, unprogressive and practically dead human timber. To furnish an outlet for at least the male product of this institution the state of Massachusetts, some years since, purchased 2000 acres of practically abandoned farms in the north-central part of the commonwealth. The old buildings were renovated, and new ones erected necessary for the care and comfort of fifty adult, male feeble-minded at each homestead of fifty acres or so. It is costing about \$10,000 to make ready at each place and there are now four homesteads in operation. Some time there may be a score or more of them. There is plenty of rough work for the men to do, such as blasting out rocks and hauling them from the fields, making roads, clearing up the underbrush, cultivating the ground, caring for the stock, etc. And there they are to spend their lives under careful superintendence, but practically paying their own way—"pulling their own weight," as President Roosevelt would express it. Better men than they have, for two centuries, given their lives to the cultivation of these farms, and why not these feeble-minded wards of the state? They are healthy, they are happy, they are in the care of a good man and wife and three assistant attendants and, if they go to bed good and tired at night, it is to fall

to sleep without those evil practices which otherwise make institutional life bestial beyond endurance. Judged by any standard I know anything of, the Massachusetts system of caring for the feeble-minded is exemplary. Nothing for show, everything for comfort, intellectual and moral development and for genuine utility.

CHAPTER XXX.

THE FEEBLE-MINDED WOMAN.

Of all forms of human prey the most pitifully helpless and certain of destruction is the feeble-minded girl so near the border line of normal mentality as not to be altogether repulsive, yet so feeble in intellect and understanding as to be incapable of the exercise of any resistant strength of will. There are many such in every commonwealth and their progeny is legion and are to be found in every form of institutional life from homes for the feeble-minded to prison house and insane asylum. They fall into the arms of the most depraved of men and there can be no doubt as to the offspring of imbecility mated with criminality. The elemental principle of self-preservation demands that organized society find some way to sequester feeble-minded women of child-bearing age so that they shall be beyond the reach of the opposite sex, at least during the child-bearing period of their lives. The belated world is only just moving in that direction, and it would seem that California should at least manage to keep up with the procession.

Harper Lodge—Indiana has begun to do something in the direction of sequestering feeble-minded women of child-bearing age by the establishment of Harper Lodge, as it is called, at Fort Wayne, as an adjunct to the State Home for Feeble-Minded Children. I found there 130 women unmistakably feeble-minded, but of so low a grade that it would seem as though their natural repulsiveness should have been their ample

protection, but such had not proven to be the case. Many of them had become mothers already and their progeny were in the adjacent institution.

These women are committed to the institution by the courts between the ages of 16 and 45, are well cared for, are employed in housekeeping and gardening and are well off if not very contented or happy. The trouble with this institution is that its inmates are of a grade so low that they should have been in the adjacent institution from childhood. That isn't going far enough. The line needs to be drawn much closer to the line of normality, but Indiana has made a start in the right direction while California has not made even a conscious start, although a few women of that character are confined in the Home at Eldridge, which hardly knows what to do with them because not prepared for them.

The New Jersey Home for Feeble-Minded Women—Vineland, New Jersey, has two institutions for the care of feeble-minded persons, just across the road from each other. The one for children has already been described. The one for the care and training of feeble-minded women is now seventeen years old, has well-appointed buildings and about 150 inmates under the care of a woman physician and superintendent. I saw a considerable portion of the inmates, and quite a number of them seemed to me to be distinctly high-grade imbeciles, not very far below the normality line in a good many instances. Still, the institution is more of a school than of a permanent home through the child-bearing period and therefore falls short of the essential purpose which New Jersey should have in view.

Other States—New York has a large institution for women of this class, but I was not able to visit it. Massachusetts has set apart one building for the accommodation of this class at Waverly, but that is an altogether insufficient provision. Many, if not most,

of the inmates of this cottage had made criminal records before being sequestered and are hard to handle under existing conditions at Waverly.

The Plain Need.—The plain need is that such women be gathered together by every state in the Union where they can be preserved from harm, but where they can be employed for their own and the public advantage. They need to be protected from harm and the state needs to be protected from them. They should be made readily self-sustaining as far as earning capacity is concerned. As it can hardly be supposed that a state will establish independent institutions at the outset, they should at least establish adjuncts to homes already in existence similar to Harper Lodge at Fort Wayne. I recommend this policy to California and suggest that a cottage be built at Eldridge, at some distance from the other group of buildings, to be maintained under the same general management, and that the inmates be established in the business of manufacturing hosiery on a basis that will give them an individual earning power above the cost of their maintenance. It will cost something at the start, but every dollar expended will be saved a hundredfold in the consequent diminution of crime and pauperism in the future.

CHAPTER XXXI.

EPILEPSY.

Epilepsy has been described to me as an explosion of the vital forces of the body that should have lasted all day if consumed gradually as the demands of life required. We are all of us possible epileptics. A condition of affairs is conceivable which might cause any individual to suffer a seizure, but in most cases that consummation is not at all probable. Epilepsy is not believed to be a disease so much as a symptom of a disease one of whose manifestations is a sudden liberation of vital forces needful for orderly living.

Science Hard at Work—There is a great deal that science does not know about epilepsy, but it does not confess itself baffled. At the Craig Colony, New York, an expert pathologist is doing nothing but studying epilepsy in all its forms and details, cellular construction, digestive juices, the constitution of the blood and the brain and whatever else he can get hold of relating to the subject. Perhaps nothing very pronounced has been gained yet, but it is not improbable that the mystery of acquired epilepsy may be solved.

Hereditary Tendency—While the life histories of epileptics are not so fully and certainly obtained as to be of great scientific accuracy, still they are of value and suffice to show that the epileptics of one generation are very often, if not always, the progeny of a preceding generation of alcoholics, epileptics or insane persons. In all 56 per cent of 1070 cases studied at Craig Colony showed parental responsibility in some direct way, as, for instance, 16 per cent by direct heredity from epileptics, 14 per cent from alcoholics, 9 per cent from insanity in parents and 13 per cent had parents who were tuberculous. In 50 cases out of 508 examined epilepsy had been brought upon the patient by his own abuse of alcoholic beverages.

The Epileptic Colony Idea—Most states have their epileptics scattered, as California has, through all their public institutions. They are to be found in orphanages, reform schools, prisons, many of them at the Home for Feeble-Minded, and very many of them in all of the hospitals for the insane. New York and Massachusetts, at least, have undertaken to gather them together in colonies where they can be separated into classes, with regard to feeble-mindedness, insanity, criminality and normality, too, for many are much like other people only that they are subject to this distressing affliction. By bringing them together in that way they can be studied to better advantage, they are less

of an affliction to others, and often something of a comfort to each other. The colony idea is at once an economical, humane and practical method of caring for these unfortunates, and the time will come when California will feel the necessity, and the moral promptings, for establishing an epileptic colony for the relief of the other institutions and the welfare of the epileptics themselves.

Craig Colony at Sonyea, New York—This is the largest, and perhaps the most noted institution of its kind in the United States. It is located about forty miles south of Rochester on a tract of 2000 acres of land that once constituted a Shaker settlement. The land is good and yields a return of about \$35,000 a year toward the support of the institution, which cares for 1200 patients now, but will be able to care for 2000. There are believed to be 14,000 epileptics in New York state.

There are about sixty buildings on the place, and will be seventy when the plans are finished. There are thirty-odd cottages for patients. The average per capita cost last year was \$164. The state bears the whole cost save as certain ones prefer to make a contribution toward their own support in order to take off the taint of indigency.

Less than $1\frac{1}{2}$ per cent come to the institution while the disease is in an acute, and before it reaches the chronic, form. However, 7 per cent of the chronic cases have been sent out as cured. This constitutes 15 per cent after deducting the imbeciles and demented whose brains have been irreparably injured. Dr. Spratling, the superintendent, is of opinion that 25 per cent of all committed could be cured if they could be taken in hand in the early stages of the disease. Ninety per cent have their minds more or less affected by the disease, but only about 3 or 4 per cent terminate in a continuous and active insanity.

Palmer Colony—This is the Massachusetts colony for epileptics near the town of Palmer. There were 550 patients there at the time of my visit, all over 14 years of age, and nearly all therefore chronic cases. This deprives the institution of its best opportunity to study the disease in its acute form, and to effect encouraging cures. In Massachusetts those who are able to do so pay \$5 per week for treatment; those who are indigent are paid for by the towns from whence they come at \$3.25 per week, and the state pays for the epileptic insane only. The institution at Palmer has 500 acres of rather rough land, a group of good central buildings and a number of outlying cottages accommodating 30 or 35 patients each. There is one attendant for each twelve or fifteen patients. Of the 550 patients here only 25 are looked upon as really hopeful of being permanently cured, and only two have, in eight years, been discharged as permanently cured.

Hospital at Baldwinsville—There is a hospital at Baldwinsville where the state boards some of its epileptics under 14 years of age. It is well appointed and Dr. Page, its superintendent, seems to take a most lively interest in the cases in hand. He gets cases relatively early in their epileptic history, but still not as early as he thinks he should receive them. At all events he has a better chance to effect cures than they have at the Palmer Colony, where only chronic cases are received. Still, he can boast of no more than 10 per cent of cures and, to do this, he has to call a child cured who has not had a seizure for a year and who has been otherwise perfectly well. It was admitted that medical treatment accomplished relatively little, but that regimen and diet are more to be relied on than medicine, although bromides are used with good effect.

Self-Control Best—Drs. Flood, of Palmer, and Page, of Baldwinsville, coincided in the view that a studious and well-trained self-control holds out most hope for

epileptics. They can bring seizures on by caprice, and by self-control they can ward them off, especially in youth, but parents humor their epileptic children so universally that they are seldom schooled in even the elements of self-control.

Operations Futile—From persons with whom I conversed I found little reliance placed upon surgical operations. Sometimes the shock of the operation postpones seizures for a season, but surgeons seldom have any idea of what they expect to find when they have operated and, more often than otherwise, merely go into the cranial cavity to see if they may not blunder on to something. This is intensely unscientific and savors of quackery.

CHAPTER XXXII.

THE DEAF.

There is one deaf person in each 1500 in the United States. Some were born deaf, some were born to become deaf and some were rendered deaf through such diseases as scarlet fever, measles and, in later years, cerebro-spinal meningitis, which formerly terminated fatally, but now spares the life, often leaving the patient bereft of one or more of his senses. Whatever the cause, the affliction is calamitous and the unfortunate victim must live, to a great degree, a shut-in life. Without language a human being is almost a hermit, no matter if he live in the heart of a great city. The crux of the problem of teaching the deaf is to enable them to get a good understanding of language of some sort. There are several ways of doing this, which will be separately, although briefly, considered.

The Sign Language—This was the invention of Abbe de l'Epee, in 1775, creating almost as if by magic, a language of some four hundred words aside from

proper names. There are many hearing persons who use hardly more words than that, but of course they are ignorant persons and have few ideas to convey. Nearly all deaf persons, mute because deaf, use more or less of the sign language. Children, in their plays, make up their own signs and will use them in spite of the opposition of their teachers, because quicker and more convenient. The sign language is also useful in talking to an audience of deaf persons too far away to see the movements of the lips in speaking, or of the fingers in the manual alphabet. Therefore, something of the sign language gets into all systems of teaching the deaf, if not in the schoolroom, then on the playground. It is rapidly learned by deaf persons trained to sagacity in such matters, but as for the writer, although he has seen several discourses in the sign language, he could make little out of them.

The Manual Alphabet—This language is based on the alphabet which we all of us use in reading and writing, save that the letters are made with the fingers and hands, very rapidly. The Rochester, New York, school for deaf children is based entirely on the manual alphabet, save that the oral method is also employed, but the sign language is discouraged as being too limited and not needed if the manual alphabet is mastered.

The Oral Method—This is based on lip reading. A careful observation of the positions which the lips assume, and the movements of the vocal chords as felt from the outside, gives such a clew to what is being said that an adept will catch the spoken words from these movements without hearing a sound. Moreover, one will also learn to repeat the sounds after some fashion by reproducing the same lip and chord motions. It takes much time and infinite patience to accomplish this, and not many, who have never heard sounds, are equal to it, but some are. Generally, their voices are pitched in a strange key and have an unearthly tone,

but the speakers are often able to make even strangers understand, and most of the students will get so that the members of their own families can converse with them regularly. This is a great comfort and convenience.

Much Controversy—I visited four schools for the deaf while I was on my pilgrimage, rather celebrated ones, the school at Rochester, at Hartford, at New York, and at Mount Airy, Pa., just out of Philadelphia. There are seventy-five such schools in the country, so that my investigations did not by any means exhaust the subject. However, I found much tenacity of individual opinion, and not much agreement as to method, but a kindly feeling for those with whom each champion differed. As it seemed to me, all the schools came near to using all the methods to greater or less extent. At the other schools the consensus of opinion seemed to be that the oral method hardly, as a whole, repaid the intensity of effort that had to be put upon it, but the school at Mount Airy was firmly of the opinion that it was practically the only method worth while.

One Point of Agreement—On one point of interest to Californians I found unhesitating agreement, not only in the schools for the deaf, but also for the blind, that the two schools, for deaf and blind, should not be combined under one management. All testified that there was a mutual antipathy between deaf and blind and that it was out of the question for a single management to maintain enthusiasm for both branches of the work at an equal intensity. The conviction was that the blind usually were the sufferers. If the two classes of children come into contact they make each other unhappy and retard each other's progress. In both cases the work of instructing those deprived of a sense is so exacting that the pupils need all there is of their instructors or superintendent—need to absorb his very being in order to reach a standard of attainment that will make life on their part really successful.

What California Should Do—So long as Dr. Warring Wilkinson conducts the affairs of the State School for the Deaf and the Blind at Berkeley no attempt should be made to divorce the two departments of the school, but it is totally improbable that the state will be able to secure a successor to him so fully equipped as he for handling both departments of this form of educational work and it will be to the best interests, especially of the blind, to divorce the two and establish an institution for the blind under a separate management. The time will shortly come when the deaf will be able to utilize all there is of the present institution at Berkeley. It is devoutly to be hoped, however, that the day of Dr. Wilkinson's separation from the institution as it is may be far in the future. I found that all of those whom I met, connected with educational work, either of the blind or the deaf, knew Dr. Wilkinson in person and by reputation and took great pleasure in commending him for his high character and distinguished services on behalf of the afflicted. But, not being immortal, in the flesh, a day of separation must some time come and the state should be looking forward toward a proper policy to be pursued when that event unfortunately transpires.

Something Out of the Ordinary—At the great institution on the banks of the Hudson in New York, where, by the way, our own good Dr. Wilkinson found the beginning of his life of splendid service to the causes of the deaf and blind, I heard something that I should never have dreamed of hearing. The school is conducted on the military system and many trophies have been won in competition with crack military companies in and around the great metropolis, but to be fully up to military requirements a fife and drum corps was wanted. With an enthusiasm born of unbounded confidence in the efficacy of training one of the officers of the institution went to work to teach the deaf boys how to play the fife, beat the drum and blow the bugle.

It was a hard task, but it was completely accomplished. A better fife and drum corps, or better bugle calls, I never heard, and yet an even half of the ten or twelve players hadn't even sound perception, and the others could scarcely tell the bugle from the fife. Verily, there is no limit to what training of ingenuous youth may accomplish.

Science Has Done Little—Science can boast of little in the way of restoring hearing. The auditory mechanisms are too hard to be gotten at, but this it has done: It has prevented many from becoming deaf as the result of disease. Investigations give practically the same number of deaf children in New York state now that there were thirty years ago, and yet the population of the state has doubled meantime. The ounce of prevention has proven of more value than the pound of cure.

Made Self-Sustaining—There is no trouble about making deaf persons self-sustaining. Those who have any mechanical ability can learn trades very well, and others go into business of various kinds. The methods of training in their school life require a good deal of manual training if not exactly trade school work, and some of the schools do teach such trades as printing, carpentering, tailoring, and general housework, dressmaking, etc. The great thing is to enable the deaf person to so communicate with his fellows as not to be forced to live a shut-in, and therefore unsatisfactory, existence.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

LEADING THE BLIND.

The last United States census showed one blind person in the Union for each 1818 seeing persons. Some of these were born blind, some were born to become blind and very many were made blind by a blundering want of care at birth. If the mother be

afflicted with any one of a number of blood taints, and the eyes be not at once cleansed with a weak solution of boracic acid, or some other cleanly agent, blindness is not unlikely to result within a few days, or even hours, after birth from the poison. For this reason physicians in attendance at childbirth often wash the eyes of the babe as soon as the head is delivered without waiting for the complete birth of the baby. The result of this care is greatly to diminish the percentage of those who have been thought to have been born blind.

Language Easy—The intellectual education of the blind is a much simpler matter than that of the deaf, and for the reason that there is no barrier betwixt them and the learning of their mother tongue. They can both hear and talk as well as another. On the contrary, perhaps four-fifths of the mental effort made by the deaf is expended in a more or less vain effort to grasp the full meaning and import of words and the ability to use them. It is to be doubted if the best educated deaf person that ever was really grasped the entire significance of language as a cultivated hearing person ordinarily does. The mind of the blind, if not the vision, is at least open and this facilitates their education immeasurably.

Sense Judgments Difficult—Per contra, the great struggle of the blind is to form sense judgments, to come into an appreciative contact with the real things by which they are surrounded. This is as easy to the deaf as to the hearing, but it is more difficult for the blind than it is for the deaf to learn language, and the whole range of color is shut out from the blind forever. There is no good reason why any deaf person, being otherwise well endowed, should be incapable of self-support, but there are few things that the blind can do with their hands in competition with the seeing, and especially in competition with modern labor-saving machinery. Hence their industrial education is difficult and not very encouraging.

Manual Training—In the institutions for the education of the blind which I visited I found manual training occupying a very pronounced place in the educational course, not primarily because it was expected that the blind would learn industrial trades, but because it afforded the best possible education in the formation of sense judgments and in the general and accurate use of the members of the body. I saw sloyd models worked out by children who could not tell daylight from darkness that would make the best of seeing children look to their laurels, but, of course, progress was relatively slow and the demands on their patience extreme. That is one thing a blind person must learn—that time is of small concern. It is the end to be attained that is important. Still, the enthusiasm for sloyd work among blind children is very great.

Competition—As I have before stated, competition between blind fingers and the fingers of those who can see is much to the disadvantage of those who can not see, and it is increasingly and most discouragingly so in the case of competition with modern labor-saving machinery, which is all the time displacing hands whether seeing or not. But competition in the realm of intellectual life is scarcely less severe. Because one is blind it does not follow that his intellectual endowment is any more liberal than that of ordinary mortals. The sense of touch may become much more acute than with those who see, and the sense of hearing may also become more finely attuned, but blindness is a barrier to the full development of the intellectual life, because it is, to the extent of blindness, shut out from the means by which intellectuality is developed. Here and there a blind person is able to make his way in the world by his wits, as here and there one may with his hands, but the rule is to the contrary. It is hard for the blind to become fully self-sustaining if sustained according to a fair standard of living such as seeing persons from similar walks of life are permitted to

enjoy. Some do accomplish it, and education in a school for the blind is a wonderful aid in that direction.

Some Interesting Figures—Dr. Wait, of the New York Institute for the Blind, has made some investigations of a statistical nature that are of great interest, and I am indebted to him for the figures here given.

Of all the blind persons in the United States, as reported by the United States census, 6 to 7 per cent are under 10 years of age, and 12 to 13 per cent are between 10 and 20 years old. This makes about 20 per cent that are of school age; school age in institutions for the blind running from 6 to 21 or 22 years of age. Of all those between these ages less than one-half are attending schools for the blind. This is a great wrong on the part of society and not at all creditable to our civilization. If, as we have reason to suppose, there are 80,000 blind persons in the United States, not more than 5 per cent of them are now in school, the census of the institutions for the blind showing an enrollment of 4100 only.

In October, 1879, when a general inquiry was made, it was found that there were 321 blind persons in the various benevolent institutions in the state of New York, such as almshouses, hospitals, etc. Of these, only 21 had ever attended a school for the blind. Up to that time 1800 young persons had passed through the educational institutions for the blind in New York state, showing that all but 21 of those so educated had at any rate kept out of institutions for the care of indigent persons.

Sixteen years later, 1895, during which time the population of the state had increased by 2,000,000, another census of the institutions for the care of indigent persons showed that there were only 276 blind persons in such institutions in New York state. Of these, only 17 had been trained in an institution for the education of the blind, and yet, up to that time, 2600 had gone through the schools for the blind in New York.

showing that almost all who had been properly trained had at least kept out of the almshouses.

Another interesting fact is that among the 321 blind persons who were in the almshouses in New York state in 1879 thirty-two trades and professions were represented, and among the 276 who were in the almshouses in 1895, thirty-five trades and professions were represented, and these had not sufficed to keep their possessors out of the almshouses.

A Rational Goal to be Sought—The issue of whether or not the blind are to become self-sustaining is of prime importance to public interests, because upon the determination of that issue must depend the legislation to be enacted and the policy to be pursued by the commonwealth. The consensus of the best opinion that I could gain from what seemed to me to be the most expert authority and observation was about as follows:

1. That those who become blind in adult age, and who are dependent for their living upon industrial pursuits, can not reasonably hope to become wholly self-sustaining by any form of industrial activity to be learned after suffering the loss of sight.

2. That in the cases of those who were born blind, or who became blind in early years, manual training is extremely important as a part of the intellectual training, but even in their case the trade-school idea is not to be commended. The commercial feature of it interferes with intellectual development, and the probable ability to compete on equal terms with seeing labor and mechanical devices does not warrant the expenditure of effort, although a considerable number will, as a result of the manual training received, be able to earn their living.

3. There are a few occupations, such as typewriting, piano-tuning, massage, and dealing in musical instruments, which combine a good degree of intellectual capacity or talent with a good degree of manual skill and adaptability, which promise those thus liberally

endowed the opportunity for fully paying their own way through the world with a reasonably high standard of living.

4. All things considered, the brightest hope held out to the blind is that they be educated along lines similar to the best type of education for seeing people, including intellectual and manual training, to the end that they may become companionable, cultivated and helpful personalities in the home lives of their own people. If they can not, by dint of manual skill, quite pay their own way they can come so near it as to be made welcome in the homes of their relatives and friends and so be absorbed into the community life without becoming public charges. There is a world of difference between those who have been to a school for the blind and those who have graduated from such a school. The latter will be pretty sure to keep out of the almshouses whatever else may befall them. Those who become blind in adult life will have to be supported, at least partially, either by private benevolence or at the public charge.

A Gross Injustice—There are numberless homes for the aged and infirm springing up all over the country. They are a splendid form of private benevolence, but for some reason not entirely clear, and very far from being humane or even rational, blind persons are usually excluded from such homes. There runs a notion through the public mind that blind persons should be sent to homes for the blind, whereas the fact is that blindness is often the only bond of sympathy between them. Blind persons of education and refinement are presupposed to find just the social atmosphere necessary to their happiness if they can be brought into relations with other blind persons, even though the latter may be uneducated, unrefined and even immoral. It is only necessary to have the case stated to make the absurdity of this view perfectly apparent, yet those limitations almost universally stand. If pressure, the

pressure of common sense and common humanity, could be brought to bear upon such institutions to have these restrictions removed a great many blind persons would be absorbed into them, to the unspeakable happiness of the blind and without serious detriment to institutions of this beneficent class.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

THE REFORMATORY.

The reformatory is a species of purgatory. It is a last station prior to entering into a full condemnation as being unfit to live at large. It is a place of expiation and reformation, a place where the offended majesty of the law may be satisfied, the face turned the other way and the redemption of the individual to wholesome living be finally worked out. But it is a prison, just as purgatory is believed by many to be a species of hades. The punishment is remedial and disciplinary rather than retributive, but there is punishment just the same. It is no soft berth.

The Sifting-Out Process—A proper system of dealing with criminal life will contemplate a careful system of sifting out the tares from the wheat all the way from the first false step to the final plunge into iniquity. The first screen to pass the chaff over is the truant officer who looks after the boys and girls who should be in school, but are not, making use also of the parental school. The juvenile court and probation officer come next with their purpose to give the wayward another chance and to enforce parental responsibility, making such use as need be of the state reform schools, first Whittier and then Preston school at Ione. Next should come the reformatory.

If these appliances be properly employed, of all those who get off wrong foot first, the truant officer and parental school should, roughly speaking, set 75 or

80 per cent back on the right track to remain there. The juvenile court and the reform schools should return to society, fit to live in it, 75 or 80 per cent of those who slip through the meshes of the truant officer and parental school. The state reformatory, when California shall establish one, should recover to decent living 75 or 80 per cent of those who slip through the meshes of the reform schools, and, finally, a state prison should be able to return to society, in the course of time, a very considerable percentage of those who have graduated to it from the state reformatory, and it should be able to keep those whom it can not redeem where the dogs can not bite them. This is the sifting-out process toward which California is unconsciously working, and of which the reformatory is a most essentially and badly needed part. Crime should be confined to the abnormal and the grossly abnormal should be confined in prison.

Elmira Reformatory—Nearly all public institutions have their ups and downs. They have their ups when they are put into the hands of some one great, overmastering personality imbued with a righteous enthusiasm for the work and unhampered by a petty, partisan and place-hunting political influence. Elmira had its period of glory when, under the superintendency of Warden Brockway, it became the Mecca of penologists from all over the world; but the good, gray warden waxed old, the job-chasers hungered for his place and power, politics accomplished the overthrow of his dynasty and Elmira took a header for the dead level of a politically run prison. It arrived there with a dull thud.

Public opinion in New York would not long stand for such a thing. The politicians were thrown overboard and the prison management sent to Concord, Massachusetts, for Warden Scott, of the Concord Reformatory, because he had made a reputation there. Elmira is now back where it was, doing an incompar-

able work in redeeming to industrial and decent living the human riff-raff of the streets of Greater New York.

The Material to Work On—Ninety per cent of the inmates of Elmira come from the streets of New York and they bring with them records of felonies committed. Petty offenders are not sent there, except for repeated petty larcenies, which, by the law of New York, constitute felony. There were 1371 prisoners there on the day of my visit, ranging between 16 and 30 years of age. About 10 per cent of these are so deficient as to make no progress in education or handicraft. These become the commonest of common laborers, but are often redeemed from lives of crime. They are reformed without being transformed. Between 10 and 20 per cent are self-control defectives. They are intelligent enough, but have so little self-control that they fall from grace upon the slightest provocation. They were not properly trained in early childhood and it is extremely difficult to train them in self-control in after years, but it can be done to some extent. However, they generally advance to one of the local penitentiaries, or to one of the state prisons—two different institutions in New York. The grimed-in dirt of sin is often mistaken for hereditary tendency toward evil. The most densely ignorant cases come from interior New York. The denizens of the city slums may be illiterate, as most of them are, but they are not ignorant. The back-country bumpkin may be both ignorant and illiterate, but in either case a half-year of industrial training drives the dull look of stupid bestiality out of the faces of most of the prisoners and they look like different persons.

The Story in Figures—Always remembering that sociological percentages are little more than generalizations or approximations to the exact truth, the following results of Elmira's reformatory work may be summarized. Elmira takes men 50 or 60 per cent of whom have had institutional records, only 6 per cent

are even partial tradesmen, 40 per cent can neither read nor write and 30 per cent more can barely do so. Seventy per cent of this mass is returned to society, in something less than two years, on an average, to behave so well that they do not afterwards figure in criminal annals.

How it is Done—At the foundation of all of the reformatory work done at Elmira lies the indeterminate sentence. It was the conduct of the prisoner that brought him there and it must be his conduct that will get him out, and the love of liberty is the primary incentive to exertion in the upward climb. Every act during the day or night either lengthens or shortens the term of imprisonment and it is for the prisoner himself to say which it shall be. He is given a square deal. Every prisoner who thinks that he has been unjustly marked has the right of appeal to the warden, and the appeal is sustained if the prisoner be in the right. If an officer be at fault he must make the amende honorable or get out of the institution. Officers and prisoners alike know this and they proceed with care. Without this system little could be accomplished.

Industrial Training—Thirty-one trades are at least partially taught at Elmira. No manufacturing is done. The labor unions got that eliminated, so models are made, graded and taken to pieces again. This is not, in one sense, as good as making real things, but it is better than a general manufacturing business, which results in a man learning to do one thing and only one, and seldom mastering a trade. All the prisoners are unskilled when they come to Elmira, and they go out as advanced apprentices, having about two-thirds finished their trades.

The School—Everybody in Elmira goes to school at least some part of the day, and few go out who do not at least know how to read and write, and many secure what amounts to a common school education. A few

do high school and college work, but as a rule education is regarded as the severest punishment inflicted, and 75 per cent of the men will throw down their books upon the instant and volunteer to dig ditch for the laying of sewer pipe in preference to getting their lessons, but effort in school counts for shortening the term of sentence, so they take the bitter with the sweet and make the effort.

The Credit System—Upon entering the prison each person is given a little bank book in which is entered his debits and credits. Prisoners in the first grade are allowed 55 cents a day for good work and are charged 42 cents a day for maintenance. The second grade man may earn 45 cents and pay 32 cents per day for his support. The prisoners are charged according to scale for misdemeanors. Six perfect months will advance one to the first grade, and thirty consecutive perfect days will take one out of the third grade. At the end of the time of service in the prison, when parole has been earned, the prisoner is given the balance to his credit in cash. Paroled men are given \$10 anyway and discharged men \$15, and so much more as may remain to their credit after deducting these sums. This is an important incentive.

The Discipline—The discipline is military, and the silent system is exacted, at least during all working hours. Misdemeanants reduced to the third grade are clothed in red and are put at fatigue duty with no privileges. When Mr. Scott took charge of the prison there were 500 men in red. On the day of my visit there were less than forty and the number has a tendency to further decrease. Corporal punishment is not used, but it should be borne in mind that the greater part of the prisoners are much more mature than is generally the case with reform school lads and therefore are not influenced by quite the same considerations.

A book could be written, as many books have been

written, on Elmira Reformatory, but I must dismiss the subject, however inadequately treated.

Concord Reformatory—The only reformatory other than at Elmira that I visited was the one at Concord, Massachusetts. If I devote less space to it than to Elmira it is because many phases of the subject are common to both institutions and have been treated under the Elmira subhead. For instance, only about ten per cent of the admissions at Concord, as at Elmira, are congenitally deficient, very few know how to do anything that the world wants done and is willing to pay for, nearly all left school in the third or fourth grades or below, and nearly all owe their criminal records to lax bringing up and lax school relations. Concord gives these men another chance, and not only gives it to them, but compels them to take it and make the most of it.

Work and Instruction—On one particular Concord Reformatory differs radically from Elmira. Elmira affords instruction only, but does not require commercial work beyond providing for the wants of the prison. At Concord half the working day is spent in some form of manufacturing, the other half in some form of industrial training, and the evening is devoted to cultural school work for two hours. Nine trades are prosecuted in the institution for the supplying of the wants of the institution and of other state institutions. There are 100 hand looms for weaving cloth required in state institutions. This is regarded as productive labor and not necessarily a part of the education of the prisoner.

Industrial Education—The industrial education of men at Concord Reformatory begins with sloyd so far as there is bench room for it. Those who can not be placed here first are put in somewhere else, but the mechanical superintendent would begin with sloyd in every instance if possible. It is carried along through

lathe work and wood carving and brightens up the belated mechanic as nothing else can. With this beginning the student goes on with such trades as are open to him until he is ready to go out, by which time he has at least become an advanced apprentice.

The Discipline—The disciplinary system is strict without being harsh. No corporal punishment is inflicted, but there is some solitary confinement with hard labor. The sentence being indeterminate, the man has his own salvation in his own hands, and love of liberty, except in the cases of a few "chronics," is sufficient to secure good behavior. There are the customary three grades of prisoners, all coming in in the second grade. The first and second grade prisoners mingle in their working hours, one being distinguished from the other only by a chevron on the arm of the first-graders. The second-grader may be advanced to first grade by earning 1000 credits in seven consecutive months, and he is helped to do this by being given a bonus of 150 credits for four months of perfect record. He may obtain five credits per day by general behavior, diligence in study, industry in labor, quality of work, quantity of work. A felon must remain six months in first grade before being considered for parole, a misdemeanor three months. It is possible for a man with a five-year sentence to work his way out in one year, and a two-year man may get out in nine months, but the ordinary time for both classes runs between fifteen and eighteen months. Seventy or seventy-five per cent go out so far redeemed that they do not again figure in criminal records. Another percentage comes back for a second chance, and often this works a reformation when the first term did not.

A Prison Farm—Connected with the reformatory at Concord, although at a distance from it, is a farm of 300 acres, to which the men eligible for parole are transferred for two or three months before being set at liberty. They would lose everything if they ran

away, and so remain to get up their strength by working in the open air.

Drunkards Given a Chance—Habitual drunkards are not looked upon with favor in Massachusetts, and a good many of them are sent to the Concord Reformatory for a year-and-a-day. They can be so committed up to 35 years of age, other culprits up to 40. They are treated like other prisoners and frequently go out to sin no more. Having been brought face to face with their besetting sin they learn self-control.

Reformatory Influences—The law says that the reformatory influences relied upon at Concord shall be "religion, ethical, literary, intellectual, manual and physical instruction." As a matter of definite practice and policy, however, these influences are put into about this order: "habits of industry, knowledge of industry, the personalities of the prison management, and afterwards, religion, education and ethical instruction." There were 845 prisoners at Concord on the day of my visit.

CHAPTER XXXV.

PRISONS AND PRISONERS.

The general public has no very clearly defined ideas on penology. It has roughly dealt out, in its own mind, too often culminating in legislation, a rude sort of adaptation of so much of imprisonment for so much of offense against the laws and usages of society. The courts have modified these apportionments, within exterior bounds, to suit their own notions of the degrees of criminality requiring to be redressed at the bar of justice. The result has been, in California, for instance, as many kinds of justice as there have been judges of criminal courts seated on the bench. Therefore, there are men in our prisons serving sentences ranging anywhere from two years to twenty for the commission of

criminal acts of practically similar character under practically similar circumstances.

This condition not only defeats justice, but it gives the prisoner a sense of having been either extremely fortunate or unfortunate in the lottery of the judicial dispensation of injustice. In the first instance, the prisoner laughs in his sleeve and thanks his fortunate stars; in the second, he nurses his grievance against society and awaits his opportunity to get even. In neither case is it conducive to reformation of character, which should be the chief end of the whole machinery of criminal jurisprudence and prison discipline.

The Indeterminate Sentence—The indeterminate sentence changes all this and puts the whole problem on a basis of intelligence and justice combined. The vindication of the law is provided for in the minimum sentence. The reformation of the prisoner is mainly put into his own hands that he may work out his own salvation under the inspiration of the highest incentive known to man—the love of personal and physical liberty. It acts as a tribunal for the equalization of judicial sentences, which sadly need equalizing, and it forms a basis of square dealing in the mind of the prisoner on which to found reformatory work.

It is a good deal cheaper to reform a prisoner than to keep him penned up, and a good deal better to turn him out reformed than deformed. The indeterminate sentence law must be made the beginning of better things in California, for without it no permanently good thing is likely to be accomplished for prisoners or public.

As for punishing prisoners *per se*, Almighty God will have all eternity in which to do that, and there is no especial need for getting in a few licks upon our own account during the life of the prisoner. The deterrent effects of punishment have been commonly overestimated, but the minimum sentence established by law

will be quite sufficient for that purpose. The danger is that it will be excessive rather than otherwise.

Classes of Criminals—There are real criminals, and then there are accidental or uncriminal criminals. There are some human dregs who, by their constitution and environment, will ever be at war with civilized society. Such as these will have to be kept apart during their natural lives, but as recidivists they will be winnowed out from the others and be given their deserts. Relatively, these are few, probably not above 10 per cent of those who are found guilty of the commission of felonies. The rest are made up of fairly good material gone wrong. The greater part is capable of redemption through industry and the square deal. Some of it is not, for total depravity may be achieved if not obtained as a birthright. Those who have achieved it will add themselves to the congenitally deficient and will make up a moiety of our permanent prison population.

It is said that the angels of darkness fell from the parapets of heaven to the depths of hell at a single plunge. There are fairly good persons who commit criminal acts of this character. Society probably will not, and perhaps can not, bring itself to deal liberally with such as these. They become life-termers as a warning to others of their class—who probably do not receive the warning in time to heed it. In eastern prisons a life sentence generally means sentence for life. Such as these become objects of sympathy and therefore do not lose hope, but as sympathy does not take the form of releasing them they hope on till death or insanity and death.

Prison System vs. Personality—The modern exemplary prison has three grades of prisoners. Those who come in enter the second grade and are usually clad in cadet gray. They work themselves up to army blue or down to stripes or turkey red, according to conduct. There is a finely discriminating system of rewards and

of deprivations of privileges under which the prisoner lives and moves and has his being. He must watch his p's and q's ceaselessly or get caught napping. Many do, and the adjusting of penalties to breaches of the rules occupies about half the time of the prison management. That it teaches self-control can not be questioned, nor can it be questioned that self-control is the surpassing need of the man in stripes. The want of it has put him in stripes, and if its acquisition can take him out well and good; but, after all, there is much question if it can reach the heart of the man, or if a man can be reformed without having the heart of him reached.

That indescribable something we call personality is the only redemptive force I know of in the world. Theology can be taught, but religion can not. Religion must emanate from the personality. I have seen prisons conducted well under an enlightened prison system, and I have seen them equally well conducted under no system at all, but with the right men to do the work. Prisoners are, after all, men. Many prison officials forget this and come to look upon their charges as mere raw material upon which to practice prison discipline that there may be such a thing as prison discipline in the world. When a warden forgets that his prisoners are men, he should give place to another who can remember it. Discipline is useful to a prison, not a prison to discipline.

The writer has neither gone far enough, seen enough nor read enough to undertake to solve the problem of penology. The things stated above seem to him to be true, and he believes that they are true, but the case is not closed even for him. It is, however, for the people of California to do something sensible about prisons and prisoners, and in default of better stuff the foregoing will do to ruminate over.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

PRISON LABOR.

It is not so much what organized labor really objects to that makes the employment of prison labor difficult, as it is what the timid politician fears that organized labor may object to. The need of the time is to have men of affairs first inform themselves as to what constitutes a sound policy regarding prison labor, and then hold heart-to-heart talks with organized labor over the results of their investigations. Reasonable men can always be won over to a reasonable view in a reasonable time, and the men who have had the power to organize labor as efficiently as it has been organized may safely be classed as reasonable men.

Competition of Prison Labor with Free Labor—Every stroke of work done by a prisoner competes more or less with free labor. If the prisoners were set at liberty and went to work outside of prison every one of them would compete with free labor, and they can not do less inside if they work at all. In fact, what society wants of them is that they shall compete. They have been shut up in prison mainly because they were not competing with free labor, but were feloniously trying to live without competing. Every able-bodied person who lives without competing with some form of free labor is either a drone or a felon, and is usually both, and needs to be forced into competition with free labor until he becomes willing to compete without compulsion.

But free labor demands that this competition shall be on fair terms. That is a rightful demand, perfectly reasonable and perfectly feasible. Prison labor should be employed for all it is worth, but on terms essentially fair to labor that is free. It can be so employed and never should be employed in any other way.

The Contract System—Popular opposition to the employment of prison labor has grown out of the system of contracting prison labor to greedy corporations upon terms that were at once unfair to the prisoners, to free labor and to the purchasing public. All the labor of the Connecticut state prison at Wethersfield has been under contract for many years. A large part of it has been contracted to a firm of shoe manufacturers for thirty years at fifty cents per day, per man, the state to board the prisoners and to get a full ten hours' work out of them each week day at the peril of a splendid system of rewards and penalties reinforced by the indeterminate sentence and the silent system of prison discipline.

I expected the paid bosses of this sort of labor to decry it, but they did not. On the contrary, they asserted that it compared very favorably with labor outside of prison. I have no manner of doubt that the contractors for this labor could afford to pay a dollar a day for the labor and board it instead of getting it for fifty cents a day and having it boarded. Free labor has a right to protest against such competition as that, and I shall hope to see it so protest that it will be brought to an end in Connecticut as well as elsewhere. It is not a fair competition with free labor.

Frightened More than Hurt—But even in the case of the Connecticut prison contract labor the shoe and the shirt industries are more frightened than hurt. The contract is a "good thing" for the contractors, but not particularly a bad thing for the shoe and shirt trade, because of so little importance relatively to the whole volume of manufacture of these products. One factory more or less has hardly any effect upon the general price level, and the general price level only is of importance to the producer and consumer.

If the labor of all the prisoners in the United States were properly distributed throughout the general manufacturing lines their product would scarcely affect the general price level either of wages or of commodi-

ties. As well might the people on the low lands object to turning the water from a waste-way of an irrigation ditch into the river through fear of injuriously raising the water-plane of San Francisco bay. Nevertheless, the principle of contracting prison labor to corporations is a wrong one, and a wide diversification of prison labor is unlikely. Therefore, the whole contract system should be abolished. It is unjust to free labor, unnecessary to the profitable employment of prisoners and not in accordance with sound business policy.

At Wholesale Prices—Each state should employ its own labor for its own purposes and, if it have any surplus, put it upon the market at current wholesale prices. If it can not do business on that basis then let it quit trying to do business. It is not true to say of prison labor that it costs the state nothing. It costs a very great deal to house it, board it, govern it, and get the work out of it. It will not undersell a free market if compelled to reimburse itself for its outlay and yet meet wholesale prices in the open market. That sort of competition would be fair to free labor, and fair play is all that free labor has a right to claim, or is likely to claim when the issue is put to it frankly and fairly.

Furthermore, each commonwealth has many wants of its own and has a natural right to supply those wants with its own labor if it can. If its industries be so diversified as to cover all the wants of public institutional life it will hustle the prisons to supply the demands. The laws give Massachusetts prisons the right to sell surplus products on the open market at current wholesale prices, but the sales are very small and inconsequential. New York manufactures to supply its own institutional needs and, although power machinery is used, the prison labor can not be made to supply the institutional demand.

Up-to-Date Machinery—In Massachusetts demagoguery has compelled the use of hand machinery in the main

to the handicapping of industrial effort. Production is further handicapped by limiting the number of men to be employed at different trades, and, finally, the law requiring production on state account is enforced in a way that obeys the law's letter without throwing much spirit into it. Only about seven hours' work is gotten out of the prisoners per day in the longest days of the year, and only about five hours during the shorter days of the winter months. At Auburn prison, New York, better results are obtained, better machinery used and better work done, but not to the injury of free labor, because the general market is not undersold and the price level sought to be reduced. What labor wants for itself it should be willing to grant to the state, viz., a fair competition instead of an unfair one.

The Illinois Scheme—Illinois undertook to knock out the school-desk trust by fixing the prices at which school desks should be sold at \$1 less than the trust price. The trust came down to the state rate and went on selling its desks while the prison-made desks are being piled up in warehouses. New York had its prison-made prices fixed by a commission, with regard to a reasonable wholesale price, with the result that Greater New York takes all the school desks Auburn prison can make. Illinois has 700 idle men rotting in their cells at Joliet because it neither required state institutions to buy of the prisons nor the prisons to sell at current wholesale prices in the open market.

It has been suggested in the interests of labor, that the improved machinery used be thrown out and all work be done by hand. That might be allowable rather than to permit an army of men to lie in their cells idle from month to month and year to year, but it is economically as sensible as to require the men to have one hand strapped to their sides that they might work only with the other. In the prison at Charlestown, Mass., I saw seventy men weaving prison cloth with hand looms when two men with power looms would

have done the same work, and turned out a better article.

Apprentice Labor Mainly—Always remembering that a main purpose of a prison is to send its men back into life able to compete with free labor on terms of equality, and so earn an honest living, it will readily be seen that a large part of the labor it can employ must be apprentice labor and so quite unable to compete on equal terms with skilled labor. By the time a good prisoner, especially in a reformatory, can become an advanced apprentice in a useful trade, he will have regained his freedom. Only the long-termers and life-termers can be counted on for journeyman work, and they are relatively few. Handicapped in these several ways private enterprise and free labor have nothing to fear from competition with prison labor under state management. The ability of the state to compete with free labor and private enterprise is much more questionable than that of free labor and capital being able to withstand state competition.

Something for the Prisoner, Too—Remembering that the prisoner is a man, and perhaps not only has a future to plan for when he shall go outside, but very likely has relatives suffering for the aid of what his labor can produce, it is worth while to give some further thought to him. This is done, for instance, at the Eastern penitentiary at Philadelphia, where there are many hundreds of men working, exclusively by hand, on many articles of manufacture for the open market. The men are given a reasonable stint of work to do for the state, after which they may produce on their own account at a moderate stipend. It is astonishing what an incentive a very small earning power gives. Those men will roll out of their bunks and work from daylight until dark in order to earn, beyond their state stint, fifteen or twenty cents a day. They have learned the working habit before they know it, and many a wife

and child outside is being helped over hard places by the earnings of some man who has, by violating the laws of his country, very likely while drunk, become a prisoner for a term of years.

What California Should Do—California has a large institutional population which needs to be supplied with many things, very few of which are now being supplied by prison or other institutional labor. Our prisoners are not learning trades that they can follow when they go outside. In my judgment San Quentin should be made a reformatory and trade school, working only upon lines that can be followed when the prisoner shall have worked his way out. Folsom should be made a walled prison and manufactory equipped with up-to-date machinery for the production of such commodities as the state institutions require. This will give a wide range of production, few men will be employed in each line, and, if some excess of production over the requirements for the institutions shall chance to be turned out, its sale on the open market, at current wholesale prices, will not cause a ripple on the placid bosom of price level. There will not be enough of product to do that.

CHAPTER XXXVII.

FOR THE HEALING OF HURT MINDS.

Insanity is in this country, and all other civilized countries, on the increase out of proportion to the increase of population. To become insane is, from the standpoint of the sane, the sum of human misfortunes. From the standpoint of the insane themselves it does not look so bad. They generally want to go home, but aside from this their every reasonable want is satisfied and, with few exceptions, with kindness.

It has seemed to me that the insane are, everywhere I have been, given good physical care. This is especially true in California. Our climate is on the side of

physical comfort and a certain largeness of liberty not allowable elsewhere, but, with all deference to the experts in care of our insane, it has seemed to my lay and untutored mind that not enough hurt minds were being cured of their maladies. Therefore I sought, as best I could, while on my eastern pilgrimage, to find where, if anywhere, more was being done than in California for the healing of minds that are hurt.

Causes of Increase in Insanity—If the phenomenon of increase of insanity be as broad as civilization so must be the causes for the increase of that phenomenon. Therefore, it is well to look for a universal cause for the increase of insanity. The press of the country has hastily jumped to the conclusion that this increase is because of our modern stress and strenuousness of life. Perhaps so. That is no doubt a contributing cause, but it is seldom that the finger can be put upon any one cause adequate for a full explanation. Almost every effect has many contributing causes.

The stress of our time may be set down as one contributing cause. Increase of the number of foci of hereditary predisposition is another. The more that people go insane the more are there from whom to inherit that hereditary taint, and as half the insanity there is is roughly written off to hereditary tendency, this increase of tainted family stocks must be regarded as a further contributing cause toward a general increase of insanity.

The tremendous migrations of peoples which the last century has witnessed, bringing them to scenes and conditions both new and strange, must be taken as another contributing cause, at least so far as America is concerned. A considerable percentage of insanity in our country, quite out of proportion to their relative numbers, is furnished by foreign-born persons. They go insane here when they might not have done so at home.

May we not account for some of this increase, too, by reason of the falling off of our former standards of morality? Much insanity is due to plain, old-fashioned sin, sinful excesses in all relations of life. In former days people lived more prudently and went astray mentally and morally less frequently. But whatever the cause the fact is hardly a matter of dispute. Insanity is proportionately and absolutely on the increase.

Kinds of Insanity—Dr. Tobey, superintendent of the hospital for the insane at Toledo, Ohio, universally recognized as one of the strongest men in that work, told me that it would be much easier to classify all persons out of insane hospitals into different kinds than those inside, because there would be fewer classes of them. The medical books are full of classifications, but one class shades into another so that lines drawn between them are more arbitrary than scientific. However, we have the acute and the chronic classifications that any layman can grasp, and this will serve for the purposes of this chapter. The acute are those who have but recently become mentally ill. The chronic are those for whom there is no reasonable hope of recovery, and yet once in a while one does recover. In the course of twenty years' experience in the asylum for chronic insane at Worcester, Mass., with an average of 550 patients, Dr. Scribner has known of perhaps twenty persons, one a year, recovering their reasons absolutely, and yet, so far as science could determine, they had become hopelessly and chronically insane.

Hope for the Acute—Whatever there may be of substantial hope is for the acute cases. I found eastern sentiment very strong on this point and the medical fraternity enthusiastic for making their supreme effort right at the start. What seemed to me to be the best work done by any public hospital was at Ward's Island, New York. Here the receiving ward is the finest in the institution. In California the finest ward is the convalescent. It is not that the convalescent ward

should be less comfortable and homelike, but that the acute ward should be more so. At Ward's Island this ward is supplied with pianos and other musical instruments, with fine pictures on the walls, oaken floors and thick, velvety rugs, potted plants sitting all around giving the room almost the appearance of being a conservatory.

The acute patient is here given a bath with massage, the condition of his digestion is looked after, the most tempting foods are set before him, he is treated with great kindness and soothed as much as possible, and, instead of being in a prison, as he had imagined, he is in a parlor or elegant home with pretty female attendants as well as male to attend to all of his wants. If he still continues greatly disturbed he may be put to soak, given turkish or other baths, in the hope of increasing the circulation, reducing the temperature and putting his whole physical being in a normal and healthful condition. Forty per cent of the recoveries are made right here and in a very short period of time.

Practically the same methods are employed at Hartford Retreat and at McLean Hospital in Massachusetts, both private institutions, except that the patients are given private rooms and personal attendants instead of being treated on wards. Hydrotherapeutic (which means water cure) appliances are very generally employed and with good results. Only one of California's hospitals is yet equipped with these appliances and that one with only a portion of the whole system. I think that the most pressing need in California is for its hospitals to get up fully abreast of Ward's Island in treating acute cases.

Cases of Delirium—There are many who are not insane, but only delirious, who are dragged off to an insane asylum and who should never be taken there. The ordinary medical practitioner knows little more of insanity than a common-sense layman. Great wrong is often done patients by reason of this lack of special

knowledge, which eastern medical colleges are now trying to supply. General hospitals, too, are preparing wards for the treatment of cases which may be nothing more than delirium or other forms of illness attended with mental symptoms. When the general practitioner rises to the emergency the receiving wards of our state hospitals will be less thronged than they now are and better care can be given acute cases. In the institutions above mentioned each patient received is given the benefit of the individual study of the entire medical staff, and there comes near being one attendant to each patient.

Labor of Patients—At Ward's Island, when one has gotten out of the acute ward and started on the road toward recovery, he is taken to the convalescent ward to rest up and come to himself still more, and from there to the shops or the garden to go to work. It is found that nature has no balm for hurt minds better than honest industry. We all of us know that when we are troubled in spirit the best thing we can do is to duff in and work good and hard at something that occupies our mind, but in a different direction from that concerning which we are troubled. It is equally so with the insane, and to set them to learning a new trade, or working diligently with their hands, or in the open air with pick and shovel, hoe and rake, is to set them on the road toward regaining their proper senses if they are to be regained, which isn't always by any means.

Private institutions, such as Hartford Retreat and McLean Hospital, are mainly denied the opportunity for working their patients, who generally come from the genteel walks of life where manual labor would be looked upon as a hardship. The penalty for taking this point of view is terrible to contemplate. It is chronic insanity with no reasonable hope of emancipation from it.

Results of the Healing Art—Dr. Potter, of Rochester hospital, lumped the healing art off to me as follows: As a matter of experience, after science and nursing have done their best, about twenty-five per cent of those who were really insane, and not merely suffering from delirium, will become perfectly cured, twenty-five per cent more will return home well enough to remain there under surveillance, twenty-five per cent will speedily die of their malady, and the remaining twenty-five per cent will sink into a state of chronic dementia that will last the ordinary expectation of institutional life, which is between twelve and fifteen years.

The Licentious Life—There is a form of insanity to which men are chiefly subject that should constitute a sounder lesson in morals than it does. In nearly all institutions for the insane are found men who were once men of affairs, leaders in their communities, professional men, civil engineers, officers in the army, big, hearty, manly men, who have come to a condition where, if seated on a bench, they will stay there a week if not moved elsewhere. They have no concern for the natural operations of the digestive or urinary mechanisms of their bodies, and do not betray half as much interest in the things which appertain to life as the dullest hog that lies grunting in its sty. Majesty in ruins! The result of the licentious life.

Self-Control—There are many persons who have their sanity or insanity within their own keeping. If they give way to every whim and inconsequential emotion, if they control neither their appetites, their passions nor their tempers, as old age creeps on to them it will find them with eccentricities ripened into an insanity that will send them to an institution to spend their declining years. Most of the so-called senile insanity is of this quality and might have been prevented had the patients sought in early life and middle age to make their lives sweet instead of bitter—by striving to make the lives of others around them sweet instead of bitter.

The Colony System—Unless a hospital finds some means for disposing of its chronic cases it will inevitably become filled with old chronics for whom there is no hope. I visited Kirkbride hospital in Philadelphia where, with a population of several hundred patients, there were not fifty possibly curable cases. Massachusetts has wearied of building great, central asylums and is now carrying the farm colony idea into the department of insanity. Massachusetts farms are being bought up, moderate-priced buildings erected, and insane persons are being placed there in families of thirty or fifty under the care of trained attendants and farmers who will get as much work out of them as possible and make the cost of their maintenance as low as possible. Instead of costing \$700 or \$800 each for housing, it is probable that the housing can be done for \$200 to \$250 per patient. There will be a great saving to the commonwealth and, so far as the experiment has been tried, the patients have been more free, more quiet, contented, and better off physically than in the costly hospitals and asylums.

A Suggestion for California—In my humble judgment California should begin to establish some nice little colonies for her insane instead of building any more asylums or greatly enlarging those we have. A reasonable sized tract of land cut up into twenty-acre farms, and made the homes of perhaps forty or fifty patients each, at a cost of \$10,000 or \$12,000 for buildings, would result in great economy to the commonwealth and great good to certain classes of patients able to be out of doors and to work with chickens, cows and hogs or in raising fruits, berries and vegetables. These colonies should not be away off somewhere, but within easy driving distance from the present parent institutions and under the same management. There are, I believe, great possibilities for economy and humanity in the Massachusetts colony idea as adapted to California climate and conditions.

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

TO SOCIAL SERVICE WORKERS.

It may not be true, and probably is not, that the nearer every function of government can be brought to the people themselves the better will that function be performed. The representative principle has found a firm place in our political economy, and for the best of reasons, but there can be no question that representative government will not get on well without being sustained, and kept in right channels, by an active and enlightened public sentiment. Neither will it get on well without the coöperation of a large and disinterested body of altruistic social workers permeating and agitating the social mass in order that it may not stagnate and lose its evolutionary impulse. The great, human mass we call society must go either forward or backward. It can not rest on its arms in security. That it shall be kept moving, that it shall be kept alive and watchful of its interests, is the task which nature has committed to the charge of the comparatively few who are capable of seeing beyond their own immediate horizons and capable of untiring and disinterested effort for the common weal. It is to those unselfish workers in social service whose constant effort it is to make all things better than they are, that this chapter is particularly addressed.

The Highway to Criminality—Of the tens of thousands who fill the jails and prisons of this country it is within the limit of probability to say that eighty-five per cent are there, not through any prenatal tendencies to evil, but because they have never learned to do anything that the world wants to have done and is willing to pay for, and have sought to make their living by doing things that the world does not want to have done and is unwilling to pay for, though it generally has to roundly. Those who have failed in the under-

taking land in jail. Those who succeed are the unconvicted felons whose names sooner or later become anathema in the public mouth.

In nine cases out of every ten the first step taken on this highway is taken by the truant. He loses interest in the purely academic studies, gets behind, becomes ashamed to be in classes with smaller boys, fancies that he must go to work, strikes a job and loses it because he does not know how to do anything useful, falls into loafing about livery barns, railroad stations and wherever loafers congregate, gets his mind poisoned by this contact, wants things he can not buy, "swipes" things that will sell, goes on progressively from "swiping" to till-tapping, from till-tapping to looting vacant buildings in search of lead pipe and other portable properties, climbs into kitchen windows and loots houses when the families are away, burglarizes stores, gets frightened and "takes to the road" for awhile, learns all the degrading habits going among hoboese, and, pushed for money and unfit for work, he turns footpad and, at seventeen or eighteen years, is haled before a court for murder, or highway robbery. Or, perhaps, he is arrested only for burglary, porch-climbing, or breaking-and-entering. Ten thousand just such stories as this have been told in the courts and prisons of our country, with only such variations as a stepfather or stepmother might afford. The initial point of weakness in a good boy gone wrong was loss of interest in school life because it no longer appealed to the surging impulses that were rising within the lad just entering upon the voice-changing period.

Appalling Figures—The most significant statement of fact made at the State Teachers' Association during its recent session at Berkeley was that made by Governor George C. Pardee that of 85,000 boys who started to school for their first day in the fall of 1897 only 4500 remained in school long enough to graduate from the grammar grade. It signifies nothing that other

states have similar records. The more such records the more appalling the fact. What fitness has any present-day American boy for performing the duties of life if he have not so much as a grammar school education? The above figures need to be reversed. As many as 80,500 should have graduated from the grammar grade last June and no more than 4500 should have failed. Scarcely one boy in a hundred goes from a school where he has been a regular attendant to a reform school.

Children Must be Kept in School—In very self-defense children must be kept in school, at least until they have completed the grammar course. There will be no diminution of criminality until this is accomplished. This is to be accomplished in two ways: First, by having a compulsory education law that means it, and, second, by putting things into the school courses that respond to the demands of adolescent boy and girl nature. A compulsory education law that means it is one that provides adequate machinery for enforcing it, as the California law does not. There are those who may act in the matter, but none who must act.

Education is a state and not a local problem, and the state educational department should have the power and machinery for enforcing attendance. Connecticut has such a law, and its enforcement is almost complete. The state is divided into educational inspection districts with inspectors permanently in the field. This inspector visits each school district at least once a year without previous announcement. He takes with him a certified copy of the last school census roll and checks off all children who answer the roll call. Those not there must be accounted for satisfactorily by the district officers or that district does not draw any state school money on the absent children. If parents are at fault they are proceeded against. It is recognized as fundamental that Almighty God did not endow children under fourteen with wisdom sufficient

for the proper ordering of their own steps. Therefore, parental duty is enforced if it can be and, if it can not be enforced, then Connecticut assumes ultimate guardianship for the child of school age and sends it to a state school. California could easily provide a similar system. There is small justification for paying out state money for the education of children who do not go to school.

Manual and Agricultural Training—There may be some measure of truth in the assertion that a child may be by law compelled to go to school but can not be compelled to learn anything while in school. Any child not insane or imbecile can be induced to learn through an arousing of the natural instincts of childhood common to the age of the child. Manual training, school gardens and nature study, wherever intelligently attempted, have been found to appeal to the natural demands of adolescent childhood. It is almost universally true that one lesson in manual training of one hour and a half or two hours per week will suffice to hold any boy in school, and a similar lesson in sewing or cooking will hold a girl to her cultural studies. If not one lesson, then two lessons. Adolescence demands action, not meditation. Thinking—close, accurate thinking—is the hardest work that men or women are called upon to do. It will make the sweat start quicker than anything else, yet our school system expects that adolescent youth, with all of its restlessness, will do that kind of work six hours a day. Not one adult in a hundred does it one hour a day, and many do not think hard one hour in six days. It does not so much matter what is taught as that something is, and that the boy and girl are held in school until they develop some glimmerings of common sense. If those who drop out are largely children of foreign-born parents, eager for their scanty earnings, all the greater is the need for keeping them in school. The school is the great American assimilator of incongruous peoples. It is where

the child of another country is Americanized if at all, and if not Americanized at all he becomes an enemy to American ideas and institutions. What an opportunity is here afforded for social service workers!

The Jails—It is the deliberate opinion of men who are brought in touch with criminal life throughout the east, so far as I was able to meet them, that the county jails create more crime than all the reformatories and prisons can correct. Huddled together as the inmates of these jails are there goes on a malevolent assimilation that turns all the inmates out schooled in bestiality and low cunning if not actual devotees of crime. The need seems to be to assemble the prisoners in district instead of county jails so that there will be enough of prisoners to permit their being segregated into classes and set to profitable work.

New York has three classes of such institutions—county jails, penitentiaries and state prisons. The penitentiaries are generally furnished by certain counties and they receive prisoners, misdemeanants mainly, from other counties in that district at a stipend fixed by law. These prisoners were formerly contracted to work in productive industry, but are now doing work under the same laws as regulate labor in state prisons, and the expectation is that the state will finally assume control of all jails and penitentiaries, using the jails only for retaining prisoners to answer for trial, the penitentiaries for misdemeanants, the prisons for felons. If California had such a system, with half a dozen penitentiaries, a reformatory and a prison, some beneficial use could be made of hobo labor. What individual counties can not afford to undertake a group of counties in a district may be able to do with profit. Another theme for social service workers to ruminate upon!

Education in Restraint of Matrimony—There is a deal of inconsequential talk of the a-sexualization of the unfit, a thing that will never come to pass to any appreciable extent; but moral suasion, backed by an

educated public sentiment, can do much toward restraining matrimonial alliances where attainder of insanity or other ailment unmistakably runs with the blood. I think that it was Dr. Graham Bell who was responsible for the statement that fully half of all the deaf mutes born in this country were descendants of four unfortunate families—two from the Cape Cod district, and one each from New Jersey and Maryland. In some of the institutions for the blind and the deaf a quiet but effective influence is brought to bear upon the students to dissuade them from matrimony through fear of evil consequences to their progeny. Epileptics are similarly worked upon with good results, and, throughout the country, there are hundreds who remain single because of the presence in the family history of the taint of insanity. Public sentiment can help here, too.

The Power of Suggestion—Hypnotism is nothing more nor less than a manifestation of the influence upon the mind of the power of repeated suggestion. It is perfectly clear to sociologists that the increase of criminality, the world over, and especially in this country, is largely due to the power of suggestion of the yellow press. Sensational papers are mainly taken by persons most likely to be influenced by the power of suggestion, and the reading of graphic reports of murders, suicides, robberies, domestic scandals, etc., day after day, year after year, can not fail of producing untoward results in minds of that character. It has been observed that atrocities of every kind, blazoned in the columns of such papers, are imitated shortly after, incident by incident. Time was when the dime novel was charged with many heinous offenses against social well-being, but how much greater the evil now that daily novels of as worthless character are hawked about streets at one cent per copy! The yellow papers not only use a deal of fiction in their daily grist, but they tell whatever truth they do tell in the language

of fiction so that it tastes like fiction in the mouths of their readers and has the same influence upon their overwrought nervous systems. Here is another point for social service workers to make their influence count in making things better than they are.

The Bane of Political Patronage—There can be no free government without politics and there can be no politics without official patronage, but there can be free government without dirty politics and there can be political patronage without its prostitution to ignoble and personal ends. It is right and profitable in government to first fix responsibility for efficient government and then give political power commensurate with that responsibility, but the prostitution of this power to mere personal ends should bring upon the heads of officers guilty of it the contempt of all right-thinking persons, and in no other way can that abuse be prevented.

The institutional life of California has, throughout the greater part of the history of the state, been blighted by this bane of low politics. Our reform schools have been crippled again and again, our prisons have experienced its damning influence, and our state hospitals for the insane and Home for the Feeble-Minded have not been wholly and at all times beyond the reach of the same paralyzing influence.

Throughout the east this source of disaster to the institutional life of the commonwealth has been reduced to a minimum, if not obliterated altogether. There is still plenty of partisan politics to the square inch, but public sentiment has said to it: "Hands off the public institutions, or out you go," and no politician dares lay hand on an institution for his own personal, political advantage. I saw many men in positions of great responsibility who had been there from twenty to thirty years. Political parties had come into power and gone out of it, but these worthy masters of their institutional duties remained undisturbed through all the vicissitudes of partisan history.

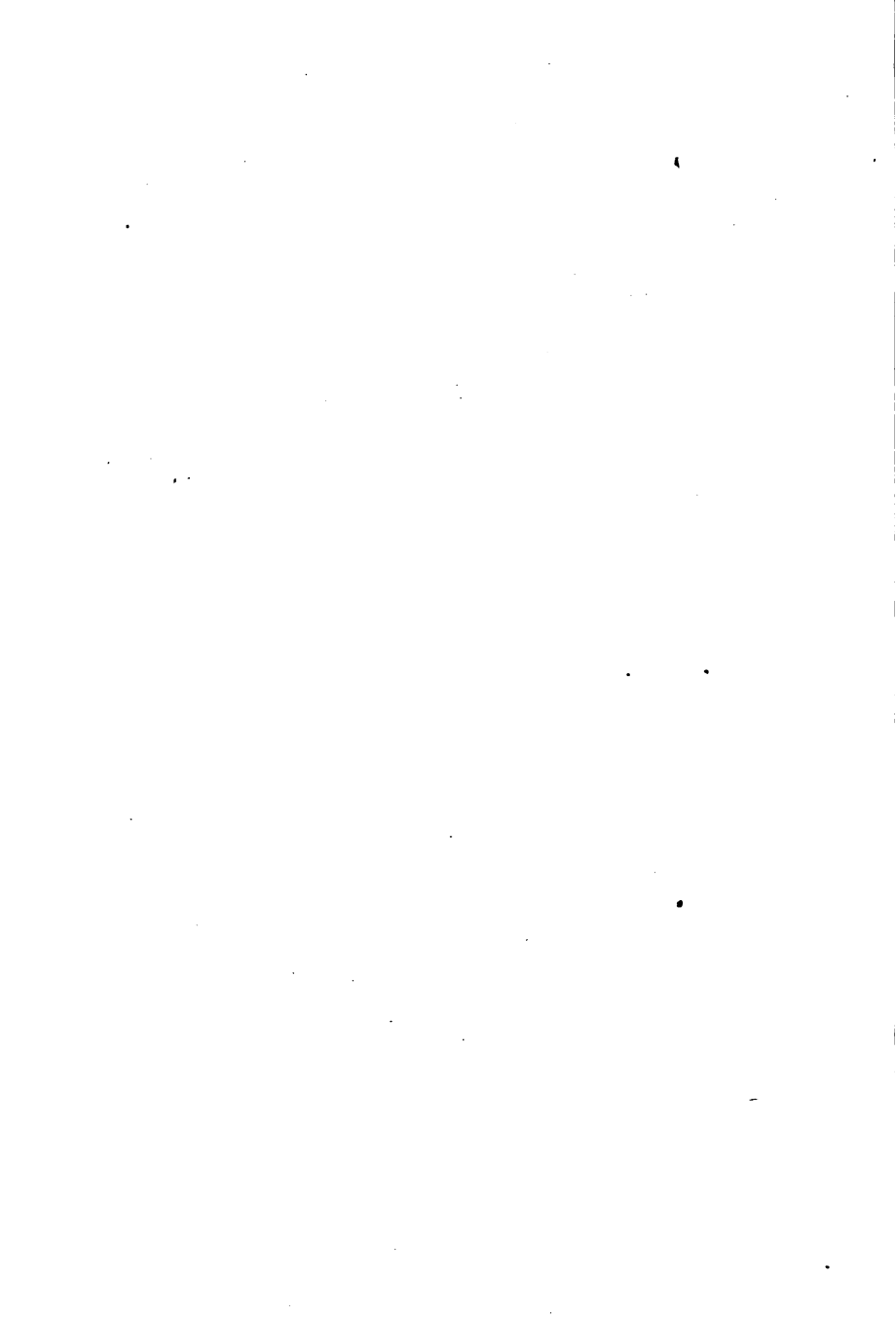
Without continuity in institutional office on the part of those who have once proven their fitness there can be no good thing permanently accomplished. Politics in the institutional life of a state is as bad as politics in the public schools, than which nothing can be worse. It is for social service workers in this commonwealth to so educate public opinion and the public conscience that no politician will dare to lay selfish hands upon any state institution, or for any reason other than for the absolute and unqualified good of such institution. Our public conscience in this particular is lax. It should be strengthened.

The State Board of Charities and Corrections—I can not more fittingly close this pamphlet than by making a short and very direct appeal for public support for California's State Board of Charities and Corrections. It has not quite found its place yet in the public mind and in state policy. This is partially its own fault because of its unwarranted timidity in making its work known to the public, and partially the fault of professional politicians who regard charity workers as bothersome meddlers.

Wherever I went among eastern states I found the State Board of Charities and Corrections doing a valued work and holding a high place in the estimation of public men and officials. They are outside of the main currents of political action and, in a measure, stand between the public and official conduct. They report to the public what is being done and what needs to be done. They gather the best obtainable information touching public affairs and give it a publicity that is nothing short of illuminating. They champion the cause of delinquent and dependent childhood. They influence the conduct of all public institutions helpfully and for their greater efficiency. They correct misinformation, investigate wrongdoing and advise the public where the blame lies. They are made up of persons with no axes to grind; their terms of office are long and

lap over administration after administration. They serve without pay, save as to actual expenses, and the salaries of expert workers employed to carry out their policies and to perform services exacted by them. They are made up of persons of the highest character, willing to give of their time and thought to social service without pecuniary or other reward save that they have the consciousness of being helpful in making things better than they are.

Such a body of men California has in its State Board of Charities and Corrections, and social service workers can do nothing more to the purpose than to acquaint themselves with this Board, its members and officers, and lend them a cordial support in whatever they may undertake to do. Likewise, to defend and protect the Board when the powers of political darkness would prevail against them.



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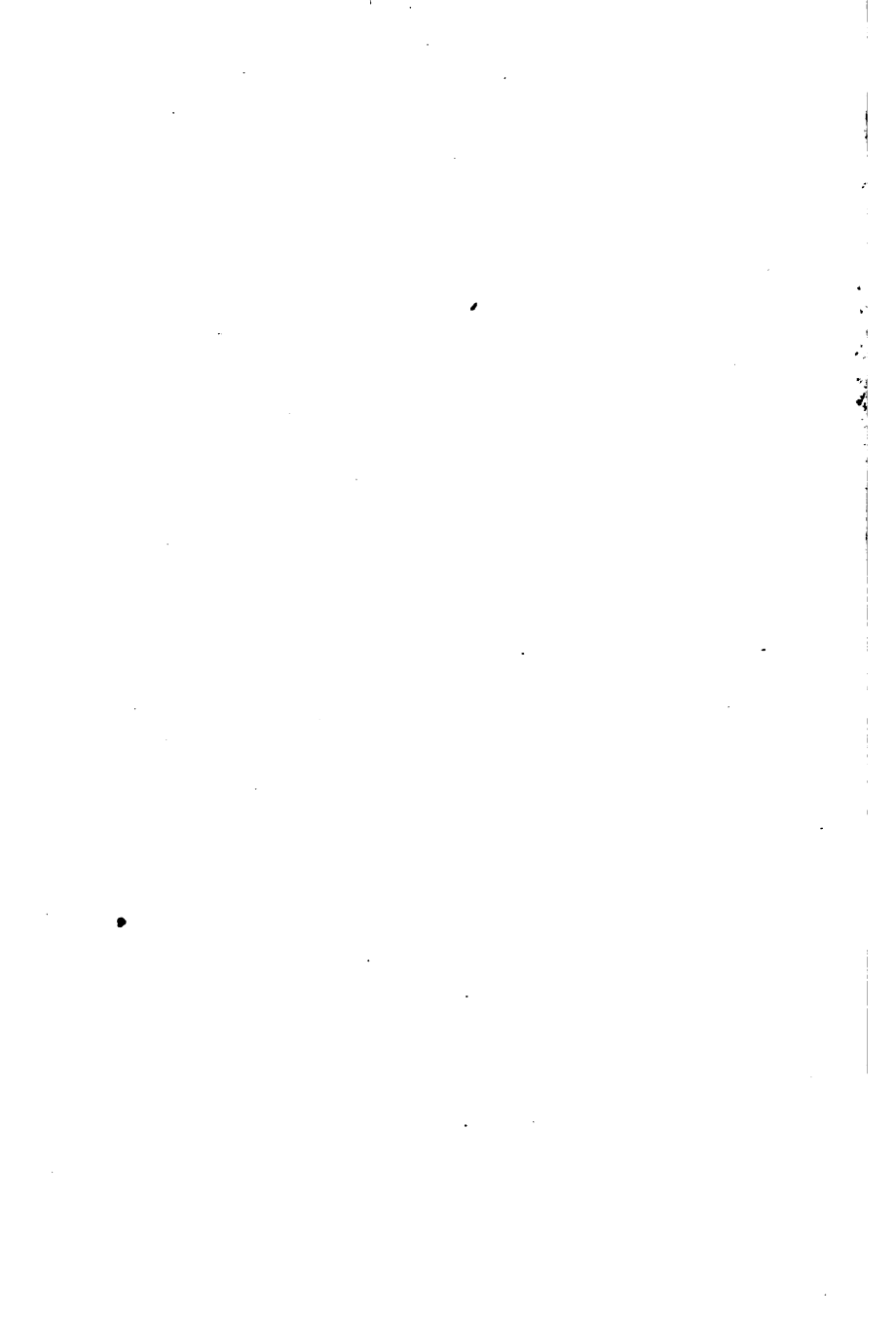
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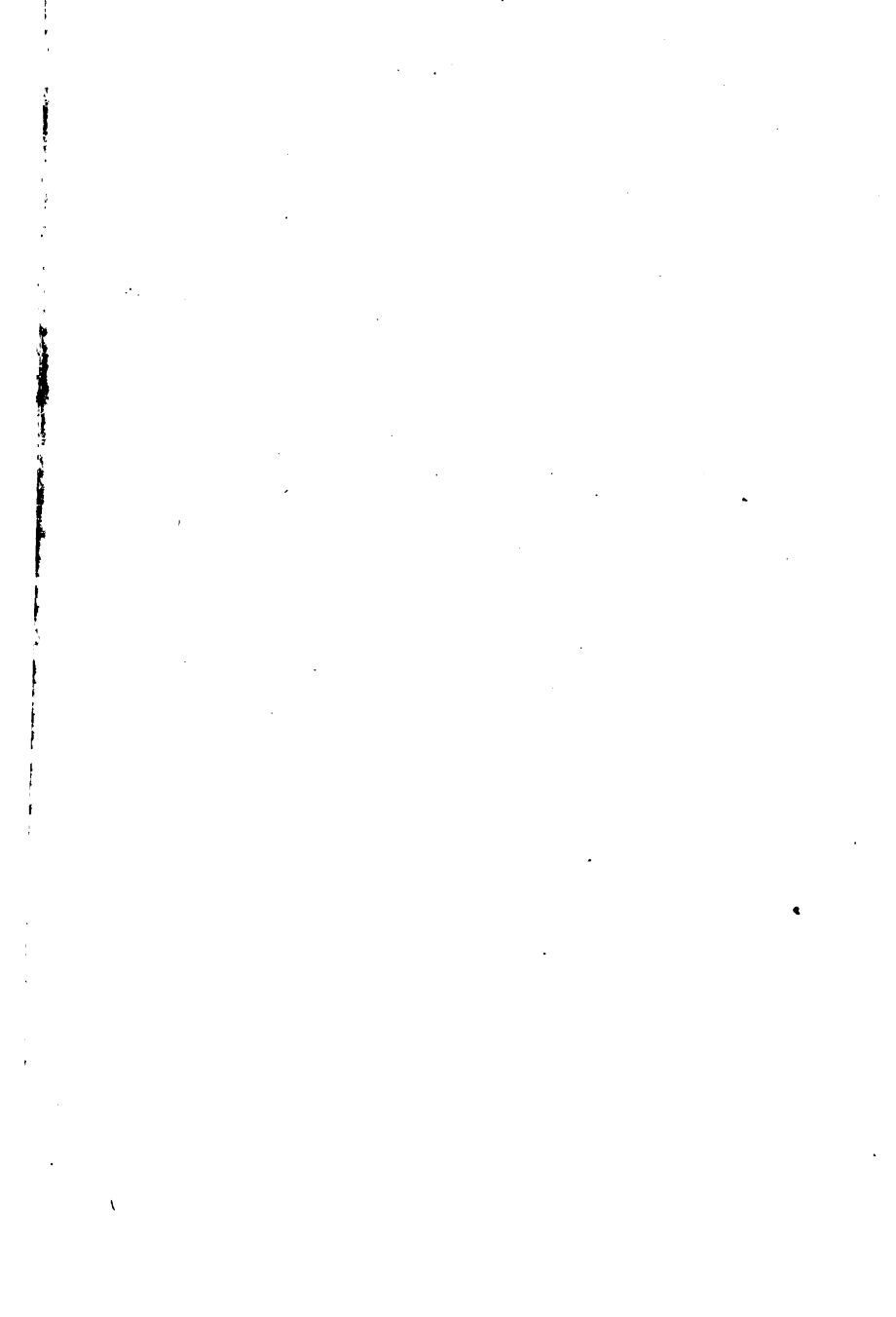
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